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A SHORT HISTORY OF
EDUCATION

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A SHORT HISTORY OF EDUCATION

BY

JOHN WILLIAM ADAMSON,

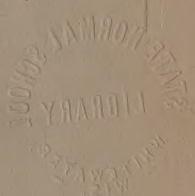
PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION IN THE
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CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1922



TO THE MEMORY
OF A
BRAVE AND ABLE SOLDIER AND DEAR SON
GILBERT EDGAR ADAMSON, M.C.
LIEUTENANT MIDDLESEX REGIMENT
WHO WAS
KILLED IN ACTION BEFORE CROISILLES
AUGUST 24TH 1918

ἀνδρίζεσθε



PREFACE

A TITLE-PAGE bearing the words *A Short History of Education* would seem either to promise an ambitious work or to imply a narrow conception of education. The author hopes that neither alternative can be fairly ascribed to this book. He would be the last to regard education as a close preserve which solely concerns schools, colleges and universities; he would urge rather that these are but the agents of the national life which makes them, and employs them, amongst many other educative instruments, in accordance with its own genius and ideals. On the other hand, his powers are not equal to producing a history of civilization, or of culture, or even the story of all the influences which, through the ages, have been brought to bear upon the young within the daily life of some particular community. His book makes no pretence to be a "History of Education," if the term denotes a survey of the evolution of human culture generally and in particular of the schools of all known civilizations, ancient and modern, European and Asiatic. He even ventures to doubt whether the material for a trustworthy history of that comprehensive sort is yet available. In any case, such a work could not profitably be "short."

Yet, while recognizing to the full the restricted sphere in education occupied by schools and their like, it still remains true that these institutions exist and that they have a history. By their very nature, they tend to reflect the life, especially the social, economic and political life, of the larger world about them. The several communities of that world exhibit so many and such important differences in their national development, that perforce the historian must run his matter into national moulds, giving us not "History," but a history of Greece, of England, of France, of some particular nation. Similarly, the history of education is best narrated under national forms, an arrangement which is also convenient for study and indispensable for research. This book, therefore, treats primarily of English education and its agencies.

Nevertheless, much of western history forms one connected story. No one of its societies, however distinct, has lived its life entirely apart; and from time to time the unity of the forces at work amongst them has become manifest. There are periods in our own history, for example, which are unintelligible, if contemporary foreign history is ignored. In like manner, the fortunes of our

educational institutions can only be followed with understanding, when due attention is paid to what was happening to contemporary education abroad, and to those foreign tendencies, ideas and activities which affected later educational history in this and other countries. The effect of English principles and practice upon those of our neighbours belongs to the same story.

The present work, then, attempts to set forth briefly the progress of English educational institutions, taking account of such domestic and foreign conditions as have had a direct bearing upon English education. All western education to-day bears the impress of two great powers, the Roman Empire and the Christian Church; and through these a third power, the intellectual life of Greece, has operated. The fact gives a certain unity to the education of Christendom which is the more striking in times when the various nations were less self-conscious than they are to-day. The earlier chapters of the book are therefore less specifically English than the later. But, beginning with the fifteenth century, the narrative becomes increasingly English in its survey; it closes at the opening of the twentieth century.

The references which have been freely given in the footnotes do not of course fully discharge the author's debt to others, who are indeed too many for separate mention. But students of English education will recognize that the book owes much to the late Arthur Francis Leach, who was one of the first to make us understand that the History of Education is not coincident, point for point, with the history of opinions concerning what education ought to be. Nor is it constituted by a loosely-knitted collection of biographies of eminent theorizers or practical teachers, however "inspiring" to their readers these biographies may chance to prove. Mr Leach did very much by his own writings and by his editorial labours to reveal the past of our educational institutions, to correct mistakes as to their history and to help students to trace the process of educational development. The author believes that this is not only a truer view of what constitutes the history of education, but that it is also a much more instructive one.

J. W. A.

LONDON,
August, 1919.

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CHAPTER I

ORIGINS

MODERN public education has a two-fold origin which dates back to the early days of Christianity. Its various institutions, schools, colleges, universities and the framework of administration are the creation of the Christian Church. The Church's desire to master the significance of the Scriptures, and to propagate their teaching, maintained the connexion between Christian education and the system of rhetorical instruction which flourished under the pagan Roman Empire. The pagan source determined the curriculum for centuries, and still determines it in part; the Christian source affected the curriculum and determined educational administration. As a consequence, two conflicting elements existed in the curriculum which the Middle Ages bequeathed to posterity. The primary object of early mediaeval learning was a thorough understanding of the Bible, which was most accessible to Western Europe in the Latin translation of St Jerome. A sound knowledge of Latin was therefore required in the first place; in course of time, and as they became available for study, a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was incumbent upon the biblical scholar. The desire to understand the Scriptures was the impelling force which drove the mediaeval student to the pursuit first of language and, later, of philosophy. Charlemagne (742-814) urged the priests and monks of his dominions to improve their knowledge of Latin and to acquire more accurate texts, "that they might more easily and more directly penetrate the mysteries of the divine writings." But any sufficient study of the Latin language involved an acquaintance with Latin literature, in which was enshrined the knowledge, secular as well as sacred, then extant in Western Europe. Thus the continuity of civilization was aided by Christian aspirations which compelled resort to the educational system of the Roman Empire, its paganism notwith-

standing. The overlapping, if not the assimilation, of the two types of teaching is illustrated in the persons of the Christian Fathers. St Jerome (331-420) was a pupil of Aelius Donatus, the probably pagan author of an elementary Latin grammar book, which remained the universal primer for more than a thousand years. St Augustine of Hippo (354-430) was a professor of rhetoric at Milan before his baptism.

3 Preparatory to the Roman schools of rhetoric, where written composition and its declamation were the principal business, the schools of grammar taught language and literature, both Latin and Greek; "grammar" and "grammar school," as technical terms, meant the study, or a place for the study, of language and of literature, more especially of the Latin speech and writers, and this usage remained throughout the Middle Ages. Incidentally the rhetorical education included a mass of erudition respecting persons, places and events, historical and mythical, with uncritical accounts of natural phenomena.

The schools of rhetoric and of grammar, with their tradition of literary study, furnished the accepted mode by which a sound knowledge of Latin was to be obtained. The early Christian educators were therefore compelled, in many cases very unwillingly, to include the classical authors in their course of study. Moreover, the Latin authors (and the Greek writers whose works were accessible in Latin) were the recognized standards of knowledge, historical, legal, political, philosophic, medical, mathematical and scientific; their books contained knowledge which, apart from them, might be said not to exist. Upon these writers, as a base, was built the whole system of mediaeval hand-books and similar aids to learning.

Later Christian ages, down to the seventeenth century at least, took exception to the moral atmosphere of Latin and Greek poetry. But the Christians who had lived in the days of a dying paganism felt a far deeper dread of works which in their eyes everywhere recalled the worship, sometimes the very degrading worship, of demonic powers. Pan and Priapus were very real to a Christian of the fourth century. A kind of dualism therefore disturbed the mediaeval curriculum, and continued to do so throughout the millennium which followed the fall of the Roman Empire. The conflict became acute in the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries. The opinion on this subject which may be considered the orthodox one of his day is expressed in a letter of Gregory the Great (Pope from 590 to 604) to the Bishop of Vienne, in which he animadverts on a rumour that the bishop was teaching certain of his friends grammar, and hopes that his correspondent is misrepresented as one addicted to "the idle vanities of secular learning." "The same mouth singeth not the praises of Jove and the praises of Christ. Think how grievous and unspeakable a thing it is for a bishop to utter that which becometh not even a religious layman¹."

But the exigencies of biblical scholarship, or at least of a thorough understanding of the Latin language, conspired with individual temperament and acquired tastes to modify the effect of so thorough-going a condemnation of secular literature. There was a moment in the twelfth century when it seemed that France would anticipate the literary revival of the fourteen and fifteen hundreds; there is plenty of evidence that the ancient classics never entirely lacked readers during the centuries which preceded the twelfth. Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury (668-690) and his colleague, Abbot Hadrian, stimulated the study of Greek; Hadrian's pupil in that language, Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, possessed an extensive acquaintance with Latin literature, classical and Christian. In the eighth century the library of York minster was very famous; Alcuin (who had been both a pupil and a master of the cathedral school there before Charlemagne summoned him in 782 to take charge of higher education at the Frankish court) names amongst its books the writings of Cicero, Virgil, Lucan, Pliny, Statius, as well as a large number of Christian Latin authors, including Lactantius, Prudentius, Sedulius and Juvenius, whose works Colet some seven centuries later commended for school use. In the ninth century, Lupus Servatus (*d.* 862), Abbot of Ferrières, was familiar with Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Caesar, Quintilian, Suetonius, Virgil, Horace, Terence, Martial; at the same period, Latin and Greek classical literature were studied at the monastery of St Gall. Correspondence respecting the traffic in books which was maintained during the tenth century by the Bavarian abbey of Tegernsee makes mention of Cicero, Juvenal, Persius and Statius. Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II,

¹ R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, p. 8.

999-1003) had been *scolasticus* of the Rheims cathedral school, where he employed in his lectures the works of Virgil, Statius, Terence, Juvenal, Persius, Horace, Lucan, of Cicero, Sallust, Caesar and Suetonius. His knowledge of the ancient literature was vainly alleged against his preferment to the see of Rheims. During the eleventh century, Sallust, Virgil, Horace and Statius were read in the monastery of Paderborn, under the stimulus of St Meinwerck, who became bishop of the see in 1009.

The motives for this study were, of course, various; some readers, like St Jerome and Alcuin, were conscious of a certain culpability in the pursuit of pagan letters which was contrary to their Christian profession; others forestalled the schoolmasters of the sixteenth century by mingling the Christian Fathers and poets with the reading of authors more strictly classical. Some, like Gerbert of Rheims and Bernard of Chartres, discerned the value of the older literature as an instrument of education. But the continuity of the pre-Christian rhetorical instruction during the ages which intervened between the fall of Rome and the establishment of the Mediaeval Empire and Papacy, and the success of that persistent tradition, are amply demonstrated in the history of literature. It was the fashion of the sixteenth-century scholars to decry mediaeval Latin; and the jargon invented by certain would-be stylists of the twelfth century, as well as the sort of Latin which is parodied in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1515-17), is some justification of their derision. But mediaeval Latin was also the language of the hymns of the Church and of Scholasticism, the vehicle, in the latter case, of some of the acutest of thinking known to men. The great body of writing falling under these two descriptions is sufficient evidence that the literary and grammatical studies which composed the ancient rhetorical education formed no mean part in the curriculum of its Christian successor.

Apart from special institutions for the purpose and in virtue of its every-day routine, the Church was essentially a teaching body, educating its members not only by the public recital of its offices and by the symbolism of its pictures, sculpture and architecture, but even more by its contact with daily life. The parish church was the centre of all forms of communal activity, "secular" as well as "sacred"; the trade guilds were at least as much religious

as industrial associations. Social life found its highest expression in a common worship which employed a liturgy whose sources were the Hebrew scriptures or Greek derivations from them; the language of this common worship was Latin, an alien tongue in most places even within the limits of the Roman Empire. All ecclesiastical persons, therefore, had some knowledge of Latin; lay people shared this knowledge, more or less, according to individual circumstances.

From the missionary days of the Church onwards, every settlement of ecclesiastics was a centre both of teaching and of learning. This was especially true in the case of the bishops and the band of clergy immediately associated with each of them in cathedral chapters; it was also true of the monastic houses, though their instruction was perhaps more often restricted to their inmates than was customary in the cathedrals. The intellectual activity of both bodies was directed to the Latin Bible, more especially to the Psalter. Wherever the study of the Bible was seriously undertaken, instruction in "Grammar" was a necessary preliminary; and biblical study itself in due course became theology. In the literal, historical sense of the words, the cathedral school was the parent of the grammar school and of the university.

The daily services of the cathedral included the reading of "lessons" (*i.e.* readings, chiefly biblical) and the singing of psalms and hymns. The latter required a body of choristers, boys who could at least read Latin words and sing them to the appointed music. The reading of "lessons" demanded a more intelligent understanding of the Latin language; and it was out of the necessary instruction given with this purpose in view, that the distinctive work of the cathedral school grew. The choristers were under the supervision of the Precentor, but the reading of lessons belonged to the province of the Chancellor, that member of the cathedral body who had charge of the service books (for whose correct text he was responsible), who arranged for the public reading of the scriptures by the cathedral clergy in turn, and who took charge of the secular business of the foundation. The oversight, and at first the actual conduct of the scholastic work of the cathedral was a duty of the chancellor, who in this capacity was termed *scolasticus*, or, less frequently, *archiscola*. As that work developed, a separate school, the Song School, was

established to provide the elementary instruction required by the choristers, namely Latin reading (not "grammar") and singing.

In common with all its activities, the scholastic work of the cathedral was subject to the authority of the bishop, whose delegate the scolasticus was. In course of time, the actual instruction in grammar was committed to a schoolmaster ("magister scholarum," "magister informator scholarum," the plural *scolae* meaning "school") who might, or might not, be priest or monk. Abbot Samson of Bury (1135-1211) and Alexander Neckham (1157-1217) both taught in monastic schools before they "entered religion." When the school system had become fully defined, the grammar master was frequently a layman; he was, of course, a clerk, but not "a clerk in holy orders¹." The scolasticus, or the bishop whom he represented, remained the titular head of all school teaching given in the diocese. To prevent overlapping, and to guard the privilege of the cathedral schoolmaster, the scolasticus kept in his own hands the licensing of all schoolmasters, a proceeding entirely in accord with mediaeval ideas of social order. The litigation arising out of the infringement of these licences, as recorded from the twelfth century onwards, forms an important part of the evidence relating to the history of schools. The authority of the scolasticus was once universal throughout Christendom; it may be traced in Great Britain down to the nineteenth century and indeed still has its survivals.

An antiquity as high as the sixth century is claimed for the cathedral schools as seats of theological and kindred learning, and an even earlier origin may be ascribed to the monastic schools. Alcuin (735-804) testifies that at the Cathedral Church of York during the eighth century instruction was given in "grammar," rhetoric, astronomy, music, arithmetic, law, natural philosophy, natural history and divinity. Evidence becomes explicit in the

¹ "Clerks are all those who are ordained to grades in the ministry of the Church. The sacrament of orders is conferred upon him who is chosen to fill an ecclesiastical office. The major, or holy, orders are the sub-diaconate; the diaconate, the priesthood and the episcopate; the minor orders, which are not holy orders, are those of the singer, reader, psalmist, exorcist, door-keeper and acolyte." *Ducange*. In modern phrase "the clergy" are those only on whom major orders have been conferred. "Clerk" was also used familiarly as equivalent to scholar.

eleventh century, and in the twelfth century the cathedral school, as well as its congener, the school invariably conducted by a collegiate church, is a fully established institution. Thomas, Archbishop of York from 1070 to 1100, entered on his province when it had been devastated by the fury of William I; he restored his cathedral buildings and re-united the scattered chapter by the appointment of dean, treasurer and precentor. The record adds, very significantly, "he had already previously instituted the schoolmaster¹." The third Lateran Council held under the presidency of Pope Alexander III in 1179 decided that in every cathedral church a competent allowance should be assigned to a master, who should teach the clerks of the foundation and poor scholars gratis, that no one was to exact a fee for granting a licence to teach, and that no capable teacher was to be prevented from teaching when he requested a licence².

This twelfth-century decree marks the close of a long course of growth, while the repeated injunctions of Councils to the bishops, that they should provide instruction in "grammar" as part of the spiritual provision of their dioceses, suggests a not infrequent neglect during the centuries preceding the twelfth. Incidentally, the Lateran decree mentioned above points to an active demand for schools at this period which the established organization failed to meet sufficiently. Forty years earlier, a Westminster synod (1138) had denounced the practice of sub-letting the office of schoolmaster for gain³.

The cathedral organization, with its provision for stately worship and for the instruction of those who led it, was repeated in the collegiate church, a church served by a corporate body or "college" of clergy, who might be "regulars," that is, men living under vows to observe a "rule," but who were often in earlier days "seculars" having no such obligation. The collegiate church usually governed an adjacent almshouse, infirmary or school, or all of these, as integral parts of itself. Sometimes, where there was no local cathedral, the scolasticus of the collegiate church was made the educational licensing authority for the neighbourhood. As time went on, the educational function of the collegiate churches grew more considerable, and in the century

¹ A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 70.

² *ibid.*, p. 122.

³ *ibid.*, p. 96.

before the Reformation it was a leading feature of these foundations.

The share of the monastic schools in the education of the later Middle Ages is disputed; it is both affirmed and denied that they taught others than their own novices, and that the instruction of these novices was restricted to the Psalter and the Rule, that is, the constitution and mode of life of their Order. But there is no question as to the participation of some monasteries in learning and advanced instruction during the earlier centuries. Names in illustration readily occur. Western monasticism dates from the fourth century, and the union between study and the monastic life may certainly be carried back to the Calabrian, Cassiodorus¹, who established a cloister at his birthplace, Squillace, in the year 540. The high repute as centres of learning enjoyed by the Benedictine order and by the monasteries of Irish origin at Luxeuil in Burgundy, Bobbio in Lombardy and St Gall in Alemannia dates from times subsequent to their foundation. But their early history is inseparably associated with men of the sixth century who, like Cassiodorus, were familiar with the Latin classics—St Benedict himself and the Irish monks, St Columban and St Gall. The monastery founded by the latter, and named after him, was a very celebrated seat of learning during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Before the Scandinavian raids brought fire and sword upon so many of them, the English monasteries were especially active in the work of education. As early as the year 631 the method of teaching followed by the Canterbury monks became a model for other parts of England, and the same century saw, at Wearmouth and Jarrow, the scholarly work of Benedict Biscop (*d.* 690) and his pupil, Bede (673–735). St Boniface, or Winfrith (680–755), “the apostle of Germany,” and Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz (*d.* 856), the pupil of Alcuin and “Preceptor Germaniae,” are instances of the learned monk and monuments of Germany’s debt in religion and education to the British Isles. The nuns of Barking in St Boniface’s time included a number of well-educated women, with whom the missionary saint maintained a correspondence which is still extant.

Charlemagne’s first Aachen capitulary of the year 789, a set

¹ See p. 18 below.

of instructions to the commissioners who were about to inspect various parts of his empire, contains the following rescript "concerning school and the ministers of God's altar."

Let them admit to their company and associate with themselves not only children of servile condition but sons of men of birth also. Let there be reading schools for children. In every monastery or bishop's seat let them learn psalms, notes, singing, the computus¹, grammar. But let them have catholic books well amended; because often when they desire duly to ask something of God, they ask amiss on account of uncorrected books. And do not suffer your children to spoil them when reading or writing. If it should be needful to write a gospel, psalter or missal, let persons of full age write with all diligence².

These words are applicable both to the education of those who were and those who were not intended to become monks, though the reference to the Computus points rather to the former class of learners. An Aachen capitulary of the year 818 forbade the admission of any but *oblats* (that is, boys devoted by their parents to the monastic life), the obvious implication being that at that date other boys sought and found entrance to the monastery schools. The prohibition may mean, as some contend, that the *externi*, the non-monkish pupils, should not be allowed to join the school in the cloister, but should be taught, as at times they were taught, in a school outside the monastery walls. However that may be, men who were not originally intended for monks learned their earliest lessons in monastery schools. St Dunstan (924-988) received his schooling from Irish monks at Glastonbury, whence he passed to the court of Athelstan, and only on his expulsion thence became a monk. Alexander Neckham, one of the leading scholars of his age, was a pupil in the claustral school of the Benedictine abbey of St Albans. Before becoming, about the age of thirty, an Austin canon at Cirencester, Neckham taught in the Benedictine school at Dunstable, and then studied and taught for seven years at the University of Paris.

The exclusion of outsiders from the monasteries, particularly of girls from women's convents, was repeatedly ordered by authority, the reason of course being that their presence disturbed the life of contemplation dissociated from the outer world, which

¹ See p. 12 below.

² Baluzius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*. Paris, 1677. Vol. I. col. 237, cap. 70.

was the monastic ideal. That it was necessary to repeat this prohibition somewhat frequently proves at once that schools for outsiders were not part of that ideal, and that outsiders were somewhat frequently so taught. Schools for boarders could be made a source of income, and this fact further explains the action of those authorities who took the strict view of the monastic rule.

The truth seems to be that at different times and in different places, the *externi* were refused or received, taught with the *oblati* in the cloister, or apart from them outside the monastery, according to the usage then and there prevailing. But the activity of monasteries as schools and places of learning slackened, if it did not cease, after the institution of universities in the twelfth century. In the fourteenth century, English founders of educational institutions abandoned the monastic conception in favour of an organization based on the pattern of the collegiate church. William of Wykeham's foundations, New College, Oxford (1379) and "Saint Mary College of Winchester" (1382), the senior Public School, are examples.

The prominent position in public worship which was assigned to the Psalter led to a noticeable development in the cathedral and monastic schools. The proper province of these was "Grammar," and the Latin language occupied virtually all the hours which these schools devoted to teaching. But the chanting of the psalms in accordance with the Roman or Gregorian mode was esteemed in the West as a mark of orthodoxy and of communion with Rome, long after the seventh-century controversies had died away. Boy choristers, trained to the Roman chant and able to read (not necessarily to understand) Latin, were needed in every great church. These boys did not learn Grammar, nor were they taught in the Grammar School; those who were employed by cathedral or collegiate chapters were taught in "Song Schools"; the choir-boys of a monastery, not being *oblati*, were taught in "almonries" or charity schools, usually outside the monastery walls, but near enough to the buildings to allow the boys to act as servants to the monks.

The song schools and almonries, in as much as they taught their pupils to read, may be regarded as elementary schools; but the teaching did not concern itself with the mother-tongue and its main object was liturgical and religious. This may be regarded

as the function commonly discharged by these schools. Chaucer's chorister-boy¹ knew no grammar, although he could sing (without being able to construe) the words of *Alma Redemptoris*: and the separation of song school and grammar school was a point of organization at least as old as Alcuin's time. But we must not invariably expect in mediaeval Europe the sharp differentiation of the work of schools according to type, which is familiar to the student of the present day; moreover, "overlapping" of function between schools of different grades is an ancient defect (if it be a defect) of educational administration. Thus, exceptions to the common practice may without difficulty be discovered in the later Middle Ages, when a more general demand for schooling existed. At Warwick in 1316 the division of function was forced on the song school and grammar school by the Dean and Chapter². Similarly, almonry schools sometimes assumed the office of the grammar school, and in some cases succeeded in retaining it permanently; this seems to have happened in the fourteenth century at St Albans³ and at Westminster⁴.

There are references in the decrees of councils and in episcopal charges to the effect that parish priests ought to maintain schools and freely teach all who come to them. Details are wanting; but these do not appear to be schools in any sense of the word as now understood. Their office may in all probability be compared with the catechizing of his children by the parish clergyman of to-day, or with the instruction now given by Sunday schools. Still, they possessed possibilities of development, as may be inferred from the following passage, which occurs in the Decretals of Gregory IX, pope from 1227 to 1241.

Let every parish priest have his clerk to sing and read the Epistle and Lesson, a man able to keep school [a "gloss" adds "for teaching boys the Psalter and singing"] and admonish his parishioners, that they send their sons to church to learn the Faith and that the priest may chastely educate them⁵.

It should be remembered that girls as well as boys were pupils in these parish "schools."

¹ *The Prioress's Tale*.

² A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 274.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 296-8.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 308. See also pp. 312, 314.

⁵ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, etc., vol. II. pt. II, p. 601 n., quoting from Claude Joli, a seventeenth-century Precentor of Notre Dame, Paris.

As has been said, the ultimate purpose of the Church's educational scheme was the study of "divine letters," that is, of the Bible and the writings of the Fathers as explanatory of the Bible, the study which later, when mingled with a logical system of Aristotelian origin, became theology. The schools of cathedrals, collegiate churches and monasteries were subordinate to this master purpose, and the highest function of the chancellor or scolasticus of a cathedral chapter was being exercised when he taught divinity. It frequently happened that theology and cognate learning were fostered in the household of a bishop in addition to, or instead of, the educational work of the cathedral chapter. This domestic type of education, which was congenial to mediaeval ideas and liberally applied in another sphere, naturally found a place in the court of the English archbishops who, down to the seventeenth century, were usually great officers of State as well as prelates. The record of these archiepiscopal seats of learning goes back to Theodore of Tarsus, who, says Bede, was a man instructed in secular and divine literature both Greek and Latin; he and his friend, Abbot Hadrian, taught to such purpose, that sixty years after their arrival in Canterbury pupils of theirs were living who knew Latin and Greek as well as they knew their mother-tongue. Theodore gathered a company of disciples about him, to whom he expounded in full *metrica ars* (prosody), astronomy and ecclesiastical arithmetic¹. Theobald (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1138-1161), who fostered, and himself pursued, the study of canon law (which was one of the many intellectual interests of the twelfth century), was famous for the scholars of his household, of which Thomas à Becket and John of Salisbury were members. Even when the theological schools of the cathedrals were superseded by the universities, the courts of the archbishops remained places of learning and of education.

Every great domestic establishment, whether of king, baron or bishop, needed its staff of "clerks²" to manage the estates

¹ Otherwise the *Computus*, a body of rules for determining the dates of the moveable entries in the Church calendar, more especially the date of Easter. This particular branch of computation maintained a place in ecclesiastical education throughout the Middle Ages; its importance was never greater than in Theodore's day, when the question of England's adhesion to Rome was made to turn upon the choice of method, Roman or British, of fixing the time of Easter.

² See p. 6 above.

and the home, usually migratory, of the large number of persons attending its head and dependent upon him. These clerks supplied not only the chaplains, but the civil servants, secretaries, attorneys and land-stewards of the age. Domesday Book and the vast number of accounts, title-deeds, charters and the like legal documents, which still survive, were their work. Some of the feudal establishments, therefore, included a number of learned persons, or furnished the nucleus of an educated society, in the narrow sense of the phrase as used to-day.

Before universities, as such, existed the schools of the cathedrals, collegiate churches and monasteries discharged the functions of school and university, as these words are now understood. The full course of studies preparatory to the knowledge of the Bible and the works of the Fathers (or, at a later date, of philosophy and theology) was constituted by the Seven Liberal Arts, the first three, grammar, dialectic and rhetoric forming the Trivium, the remainder, music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy making the Quadrivium. Based upon a distribution of studies which was familiar in pre-Christian antiquity, the famous Seven appear as early as the first quarter of the fifth century in the work of Martianus Capella, a professor of rhetoric at Carthage, who was not a Christian. The term, Quadrivium, as a name for the scientific group of studies, is as old as Boethius (480-524). Alcuin includes five of the liberal arts (dialectic and geometry are not specified) amongst the studies at York in the eighth century, and in addition he names studies which would at a later time be regarded as belonging to law, natural philosophy, natural history and divinity. The terms must not, however, be understood in the modern sense. In the place of systematic science, we must imagine a combination of nature study, frequently inaccurate, with a great mass of traditional and other second-hand learning.

Judged by present-day standards, the mediaeval knowledge of "Nature" was shallow, superstitious and wanting in critical temper. Its text-books were for centuries little more than the *débris* of ancient learning; when the writers ventured on an independent treatment of their own, it was often uninformed and fanciful. These dry bones woke to life in the twelfth century, and in due course such thinkers and experimenters as Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon opened the way for the New Philosophy of Galileo and Isaac Newton.

The Latin primer of all Christendom for some eleven hundred years was the *Ars Minor* or *De octo partibus orationis* of Aelius Donatus, the grammarian who taught St Jerome in the fourth century. It was amongst the earliest printed books, and was still being printed in the fifteen hundreds; indeed "donat" was so familiar a term that it was used to name an elementary manual in general, irrespective of subject. The *Ars Minor* contained the rudiments of the Latin accidence, presented without any pretence of assisting the memory by impressing the pupil's eye, to which in all probability there was no intention of appealing. The master read and the pupil repeated after him. In manuscript copies, the text runs right on, line after line without a break, much less with any suggestion of tabular forms; the same arrangement, or want of arrangement, is found in the surviving fragments and copies of donats printed in the second half of the fifteenth century. The germ of a table is found in a *Donatus Minor cum glosa almannica* printed about 1500 at Basel. In this copy, the conjugation of *lego* is printed after this manner:

Futuro	utinam legam	legas
legat	Et plr. utinam legamus	lega
tis legant.		

This is a concession which might perhaps be expected in a book containing an interlinear translation in German; but its numerous contractions of words and its black letter make it far less legible than the ninth-century manuscript quoted below.

Changes in the form and substance of a school-book are to be expected when it enjoys a long life in many lands and under many editors; but comparison shows that, in the case of the donat, these changes were surprisingly few in number and of small importance in character. The book is still instructive as embodying ideas on elementary instruction which were current for ages. The Benedictines of Monte Cassino printed in 1899 a donat contained in a French manuscript of the ninth century, together with a facsimile of the first of its thirteen pages, each measuring some ten inches by eight. The first ten lines and a passage giving the declension of *magister* are here reproduced as characteristic both of the manuscript and of the printed versions, which did not depart very far from this model. It will be noticed that the

form is catechetical; there is reason to believe that the questions were to be asked by the *pupils*.

Incipit Ars Donati quam Paulus Diac[onus] exposuit Partes orationis quot sunt? Octo Quae? Nomen Pronomen Verbum Adverbium Participium Conjunctio Praepositio Interjectio Nomen quid est? Pars orationis cum casu corpus aut rem proprie communiterve significans Proprie ut roma tiberis communiter ut urbs flumen Nomini quot accedunt?¹ sex Quae? qualitas comparatio genus numerus figura casus Qualitas nominum in quo est? Bipertita e[st] Aut enim unius nomen est & proprium dicitur aut multorum & appellativum Comparationis gradus quot sunt? tres qui? positivus ut doctus comparativus ut doctior superlativus ut doctissimus².

The declension of nouns follows the following model:

Magister nomen appellativum generis masculini numeri singularis figurae simplicis casus nominativi et vocativi quod declinatur sic Nominativo hic magister Genetivo hujus magistri Dativo huic magistro Accusativo hunc magistrum Vocativo o magister Ablativo ab hoc magistro Et pluraliter, etc.

Then follow in the same manner "ecclesia," "templum," "fidelis," "fructus," "species." As is very frequently the case, this copy supplements Donatus by excerpts from Priscian, a sixth-century grammarian who shared the honours of authority with his predecessor.

The mode of teaching Latin to children who were inmates of monasteries in southern England is illustrated in two works by Abbot Aelfric, the *Meaning of Latin Conversation* (a dialogue) and *Extracts from Priscian*³. Aelfric, who had been a monk of Winchester, says that his interpretation of Priscian follows that of Aethelwold (bishop of Winchester, 963-984), in whose school he himself was taught; and Aethelwold had been educated at Glastonbury under Dunstan. The dialogue has received additions

¹ For "accidunt."

² The Basel copy of 1500 (?) noticed above begins identically with this same passage, not excepting the examples of proper and common nouns, "Roma," "Tiberis," "urbs," "flumen." These also appear in the Milan Donat of 1473.

³ "Sententia Latini sermonis" and "Excerptiones de Prisciano minore vel majore": often referred to as Aelfric's "Colloquy" and "Grammar" respectively.

from Aelfric Bata, Abbot Aelfric's pupil. It is therefore probable that the two books embody a traditional method of teaching employed by at least four generations of English teachers.

The *Colloquy* or *Meaning of Latin Conversation* is a dialogue in Latin, with an English "gloss," or interlinear version or translation, added perhaps for the pupils' use, possibly for the teacher's only. Its subject-matter is the every-day life of the field, the town and the monastery, and its form suggests a dramatic treatment, the speakers including a ploughman, a shepherd, a fisherman, a shoemaker, a merchant, etc. This choice of callings does not imply that the craftsmen and out-of-door workers of that day learned Latin, but that these teachers recognized the value for language-instruction of familiar illustrations from ordinary experience, thus anticipating a principle of the Direct Method of to-day. The questions are asked by the pupils, who desire to speak Latin correctly; they all appear to be *oblats*, in other words, child-monks. The writer of the dialogue playfully shows himself to be aware of the limits of childish understanding and careful not to over-pass them. The same mark of the experienced teacher is visible in the *Extracts from Priscian*, which, Aelfric says, "for you dear little children, I have studied to translate into your own language" to be a text-book after the *Eight Parts* of Donatus has been thoroughly read. The purpose of the book is to make Priscian comprehensible, first, by giving his work in the vernacular, and secondly, by supplying copious illustrations in the form of sentences. Yet the essential difficulty of the text, namely, its defective arrangement, remains. Aelfric simply repeats or even elaborates such statements of his author as "the third declension has seventy-eight terminations"; "this conjugation (the third) makes its preterite in eight ways, as no other conjugation does"; "grammar has thirty parts: 1. the articulate sound, 2. the letter, 3. the syllable, 4. the noun, 5. the pronoun, 27. prose, 28. metre, 29. fables, 30. history." Mr Leach has called attention¹ to two noteworthy sentences, illustrating the term "Gerundia." "*Ipsa monialis vigilat docendo puellas. Legendo docetur vir et legendo docetur mulier.*" "The nun is awake for teaching girls. The man is taught by reading and the

¹ *Educational Charters*, p. xvij.

woman is taught by reading." There is no implication, however, of what it is that is taught, or read.

The continued employment down the centuries of the self-same text-books, which characterized the early Middle Ages, is significant of their dependence upon the culture of the Roman Empire, and of the slow advance upon the vestiges of that culture which was effected during the earlier part of that period. Donatus and Priscian were not alone in the abiding hold which they secured upon the course of education, but shared their position with Martianus Capella, with Orosius, the friend and pupil of St Augustine, with the ministers of Theodoric, Boethius and Cassiodorus (480-575) and with Isidore of Seville (570-636). The majority of these writers were compilers only, whose encyclopaedic and superficial books kept alive something of the knowledge which had informed the ancient civilization; Cassiodorus and, more particularly, Boethius were men of an independent mould who themselves embodied much of that civilization and spoke of it with authority. Orosius's *Seven Books of Histories against the Pagans* (c. 417) remained the mediaeval standard authority upon ancient history; it was compiled from the Bible, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius and from the compilations of Justin and Eutropius, two authors whose books remained in school-use well into modern times. Orosius's "History" was translated and augmented by King Alfred.

The other authors named above were the mediaeval authorities on the Seven Liberal Arts. Capella's work, partly verse, partly prose, consisted of nine books presenting an allegory of the *Nuptials of Philology and Mercury*, the first two books relating the story of that celestial marriage, and the remaining books giving an account of the lady's bridesmaids, Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy and Music. Eight editions of this book are known to have been printed between 1499 and 1599. Isidore of Seville's twenty books of *Origins or Etymologies* was an encyclopaedia based upon earlier compilations. Its authority ranked very high during many centuries; Sandys says that it superseded to a large extent the study of the classical authors themselves (a result which Isidore distinctly aimed at), while Roger believes that it is largely responsible for the common mediaeval defect of attributing an overweening place to books

in the study of physical phenomena. Some six or seven editions of Isidore's work were printed between 1472 and 1577¹.

Cassiodorus² seems to have been the first monastic founder who regarded the copying of manuscripts as a task befitting the cloister and thus laid the modern world under an incalculable obligation. For the use of his monks of the Vivarium at Squillace he wrote *The Elements of Sacred and Secular Letters* (c. 543) in two books, the second of which, *Arts and Disciplines of Liberal Letters*, gives a résumé of the Seven Arts, with references to authorities for fuller study. Cassiodorus distinguishes between the three "arts," which composed the Trivium, and the "disciplines" of the Quadrivium; the portion of the book dealing with the last was printed so late as 1580 under the title, *A Compendium of the Four Mathematical Disciplines*³. The "art" of Dialectic secures the fullest treatment accorded to any of the Seven; Cassiodorus here relies on Porphyry's "Introduction," on so much of Aristotle as was then accessible in Latin and on his own contemporary, Boethius.

Boethius, "last of the Romans," transmitted much that was best in the spirit of antiquity by means of his *Consolation of Philosophy*, written while awaiting death in the prison of Pavia. He was also one of the conspicuous writers on the Seven Liberal Arts to whom the mediaeval student looked for instruction. He wrote on music; and the word Quadrivium, meaning the scientific branches of the curriculum, occurs first in his *De Arithmetica* (502), which was the basis of the mediaeval works on the theory and properties of numbers, particularly the doctrine of ratio. This

¹ See "An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages, Isidore of Seville," by E. Brehaut in *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, vol. XLVIII. No. 1, University of Columbia, 1912.

² "Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum." M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, pp. 175 ff.

³ "De quatuor mathematicis disciplinis Compendium." The "de Artibus et Disciplinis liberalium litterarum," of which the foregoing is a section, is in turn part of a longer work, "Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum" (alias "humanarum lectionum"). Orosius's book is known as "Adversum paganos historiarum libri VII," the point being that paganism had wrought the destruction of the Empire. The allegorical text-book of Capella is entitled, "De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii libri II et de Septem Artibus liberalibus libri singulares." For particulars of printed editions, the text above is indebted to the *Rara Arithmetica* of David Eugene Smith (Ginn, 1908).

was then regarded as the special province of arithmetic, distinct from such mechanical or practical applications of the science as the Computus¹, the use of the Abacus and Algorism. The abacus was a counting board used with nine counters for calculation; algorism, the employment of nine numerals and a zero, began to supersede the abacus in the twelfth century². From 1488 onwards innumerable editions of the *De Arithmetica* were printed.

But Boethius's chief influence was exerted through his Aristotelian translations. The *Organon*, or complete formulation of the logical doctrine of Aristotle, was not known to Western Europe till about 1150-1160. Before that period the ancient logic was represented by Latin translations of Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* and *Categoriae*, with Porphyry's "Introduction" to the latter, all of these treatises being purely introductory to the study. Boethius is said to have translated the whole of the *Organon*; but before the date just given, his Latin translations of the three works named above were alone known to students. Prior to the tenth century, the version of the Categories then familiar was ascribed to St Augustine. Boethius also provided the mediaeval philosopher with a problem whose attempted solution gave occasion and partial direction to the great movement termed Scholasticism. Musing upon questions suggested by Porphyry, Boethius said:

According to Plato, *genera* and *species* are not merely conceptions, in so far as they are universals; they are real things existing apart from bodies. According to Aristotle, they are conceived as incorporeal, in so far as they are universals, but they have no real existence apart from the sensible world³.

The rhetorical exercises of the Roman schools reappeared in Christian times under the guise of discussions arising out of the ancient philosophies, the Seven Liberal Arts or the study of "Divine Letters." Problems of a logical or metaphysical character taken from these sources of authority were especially favoured.

¹ See p. 12 above.

² See R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1912. Chap. III.

³ J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1. pp. 240-1. See p. 33 below.

Disputations, as these discussions were called, were the training ground and test of capacity employed by the universities for some five hundred years after those seats of learning were established. The word had acquired a technical sense at an earlier date; thus, Alcuin applies the description, *Disputatio*, to a dialogue on grammar which he wrote when he was initiating and conducting educational schemes at Charlemagne's court between the years 782 and 796.

The master in Aelfric's *Colloquy* (1005) asks the boys, "Are you willing to be flogged when you are learning?" The boys reply, "We had rather be flogged for the sake of knowledge than be ignorant; but we know that you are merciful and would not lay stripes upon us, unless we compel you to do so." These children of the cloister were familiar with the monastic ideal of a body kept in subjection by self-inflicted pain, an ideal which reinforced Solomon's dictum about sparing the rod. But less recondite explanations of the rule of the birch in mediaeval schoolrooms are forthcoming. The paucity of teachers and of books for the younger pupils caused resort to an excessive use of learning by heart as a plan by which large numbers of pupils could be kept employed. The defect of this arrangement was, that it gave great opportunities for shirking, and the teacher sought to minimize these by holding the birch *in terrorem* over the heads of the boys. No doubt the schoolmasters were ready with "theories" to justify their practice, as, the depraved nature of man, the value of bodily chastisement as discipline, and the like; the roughness of the time would only aggravate the consequences of such beliefs. But the practical schoolroom difficulty of keeping boys employed amidst conditions which favoured the idler was responsible for much more flogging than any of these "second thoughts" which were used to justify it.

The youngest pupils who were learning the alphabet, and, at a later stage, those who were learning to write, were each furnished with a stilus and a small board carefully smeared with wax; they seem to have had nothing which could be called a school-book, but repeated their lessons in chorus as the words fell from the teacher.

And after a while they took it up again and kept chanting, *Pater, pater, pater*; in the same way that boys who are being taught by

grammar masters in school are wont to do, when they repeat aloud together at intervals what is said by the master¹.

It was only after a child had made some little advance in the reading of Latin that a manuscript text could be put into his hands with advantage.

The early history of women's education is an obscure matter; evidence is scanty and such inferences as have been drawn from it are frequently contradictory. When an issue is important and the material for a judgment deficient, the danger of hasty generalization is great; the treatment of this subject has afforded ample illustration of that form of fallacy. Obvious as the mistake seems to be, it is sometimes assumed that all girls living in a given period received the same kind of instruction, irrespective of social conditions. The very different courses of education which were pursued contemporaneously by clerk and knight should be a sufficient warning against the error. A similar unjustified assumption regards the learning or accomplishments of a particular woman as necessarily typical of her day or country, and not peculiar to herself. To take an illustration from the eighteenth century; it is altogether misleading to learn that Lady Mary Pierrepont read Latin, unless we also know that she was self-taught and learned the language by stealth. From the standpoint of the history of women's education, it is less important to find that this earl's daughter knew Latin, than that she was supposed to be reading novels in her father's library for five or six hours a day, when, in fact, she was studying the classical tongue. Over and over again, the mistake has been made of explaining, as the result of a general practice, what is explicable as the consequence of an individual woman's strength of character and force of intellect. Christine de Pisan (1363-1431) tells us that a fourteenth-century Bolognese jurist, Jean Andry, when too busy to give his lectures, was wont to entrust the duty to his "good and beautiful daughter" *Novelle*. On these occasions the learned lady used to wear a little "courtine" before her face, "that her beauty might not disturb the thoughts of her hearers." Yet in this very century, there was a popular Italian saying to the effect that

¹ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. II. p. 601 n., quoting the *Chronica* of the Franciscan friar, Salimbene.

"a girl should be taught to sew and not to read, unless one wishes to make a nun of her."

An account of the courtly education of ladies will be found in a later chapter. Throughout the mediaeval period, the education of the great majority of girls and women was of a similarly practical kind, both in aim and method. "Schooling" formed but a very small part of it, and was limited to religious instruction for the greater number; in all probability, this was the sole teaching afforded to boys and girls in the "parish," "canonical" or priest's schools¹. Some, probably not a large proportion, learned to read; still fewer learned to write. But girls and women who could read and write greatly increased in number during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the earlier centuries, learning to read meant learning to read Latin and consequently involved the ability to read any other language known to the reader and written in Roman or similar characters. It appears from advice tendered during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to English anchoresses (*i.e.* recluses living apart from convents) that these women often turned their houses into schools for children; the practice was condemned as incompatible with the strictly religious obligations of the recluse.

This principle also condemned those nuns who turned their convents into places of general education. The exact part played by the mediaeval nunneries in this connexion is hotly disputed; a dispassionate review of the evidence goes to show that any general statement respecting the education given in convents, or the persons who received it, is valueless apart from the consideration of period, place and nunnery in question. It is perhaps safe to assert that there was an understanding, not always observed, that the nuns themselves should be able to read their Psalter (which, of course, they knew by heart) and "divine letters," that is, the Bible and the writings of the Fathers, all in Latin. As early as 507 the "Rule" of St Cesarius of Arles says: "Let all learn letters; in every season, two hours, that is from dawn to the second hour, should be free for reading."

When we pass to writing, the ground is less certain; but even in early days some nuns in some convents spent much time in transcribing or illuminating manuscripts. Miss Eckenstein quotes

¹ See p. 11 above.

from the *Acta Sanctorum* of Bollandus a description of the instruction given in a Flemish convent to two girls, not nuns, during the ninth century, which may be fairly regarded as representing the standard of education commonly expected from the mediaeval nun who belonged to a well-ruled community.

They were instructed in reading, in chanting, in singing the psalms and also in what now-a-days [850-880] is deemed wonderful, in writing and in painting, a task laborious even for men. Likewise they were carefully trained in every department of work such as is done by women's hands, in various designs in different styles; so they attained a high standard of excellence in spinning, weaving, designing, sewing and embroidering with gold and jewels on silk¹.

But the correspondence of St Boniface with certain English nuns, living in their English homes or presiding over houses which he had established in Germany, shows that these ladies of the eighth century were sufficiently masters of Latin to make it the language of their letters. One of them at least, Leobgith of Bischofsheim, learned to write Latin verse under Eadburg, Abbess of Minster in Thanet, another of Boniface's correspondents. Leobgith had been a great reader from her childhood. Another of these Englishwomen settled on German soil has left one of the earliest narratives of travel (not her own) in Palestine².

The Danish raids and conquests destroyed many English convents which were never restored; and later times did not repeat this eighth-century birth of learning in English nunneries. But the tradition survived in some foreign houses. The splendidly illuminated twelfth-century manuscript called *Hortus Deliciarum*, which perished at Strasbourg under the Prussian fire in 1870, was an encyclopaedia compiled in the convent of Hohenburg in the Vosges either by the abbess, Herrad, or under her direction. While its interest is chiefly aesthetic, it is evidence also of an appreciation of knowledge not strictly confined to "divine letters³." The growth of universities put an end to monastic centres of advanced learning; but, whereas monks might, and in some cases did, take advantage of university teaching, nuns were quite unable to avail themselves of it.

¹ *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 231.

² L. Eckenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

³ Cp. J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. I. p. 537.

The account of Boniface's correspondents who employed Latin freely may be contrasted with the following statement made by Miss Bateson in reference to the period 1250-1350:

The evidence goes to show that in knowledge of Latin the nuns had greatly fallen behind. Their visitations, rules, accounts are more often French than Latin, and some could not even speak French. A case is known in which special application was made to admit one "neither lettered nor brought up in the French tongue." The mystical works which Richard Rolle of Hampole [*d.* 1349] translated from Latin for nuns were all put into English. (*Mediaeval England*, p. 342.)

But granted that some nuns at some periods were well instructed in the learning of their day, what evidence is there that they taught girls who were not destined to become nuns themselves? In the early period, it is known that members of royal and noble houses, whose families had founded, or were great benefactors of, particular convents, were bred in those convents. But this only means that the feudal superiors regarded the nunneries as appanages of their estates which offered very convenient retreats in which to place their daughters, either permanently as abbesses, or temporarily as boarders. It is very different from regarding them as places of education open to all. Matilda, queen of Henry I, is said to have been highly educated in Romsey Abbey; but the original intention had been to make her a nun. Peter of Cluny, writing to Héloïse in reference to Abelard's recent death (1142), speaks of the studies which she prosecuted before taking the veil. But he adds that "it is scarcely possible to find a foothold for philosophy (*pes sapientiae*) even amongst virile minds—I will not say amongst the feminine sex, from which it has been dismissed with contumely."

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF UNIVERSITIES

As a result of the Norman Conquest two Priors of Bec, both North Italians, occupied in immediate succession the archbishop's chair at Canterbury. Lanfranc (1005-1089) and Anselm (1033-1109) were both in complete agreement with the papal view respecting the relations of the spiritual and secular powers, which were matters of the keenest controversy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By their policy and in their own persons they did much to knit more closely the intellectual life of their adopted country to the ecclesiastical and educational institutions then being developed on the Continent. During the twelfth century, English students swelled the throngs which, attracted by the fame of individual teachers, found their way to Paris, Chartres, Orleans and other French cathedral schools.

Amongst them was Becket's friend, John of Salisbury, one of the most able scholars of the Middle Ages. John was born at Salisbury about 1115-1120, served for some years as a "clerk" in the household of Archbishop Theobald, accompanied Becket, Theobald's successor, into exile, became Bishop of Chartres in 1176 and died in 1180. He has left an account of his later education in France which is of great interest, since it tells at first hand of teaching and learning which issued in the institution of a new educational organization, the university, it gives the writer's opinions respecting his teachers, expresses his literary sympathies and his distrust of the study of logic when pursued as an end in itself, and, generally, describes the higher education of the first half of the twelfth century from a personal point of view. It should be added that John's twelve years of studentship preceded his entry into Theobald's household.

The account itself is to be found in some pages of John's *Metalogicus*, here slightly abridged; its characteristic rhetorical style suffers by translation.

When, being but a youth, I first went to Gaul for the purpose of study in the year [1136] after the illustrious king of England, Henry, the lion of justice, passed beyond human affairs, I betook myself to the Aristotelian of Palais¹, a famous teacher who at that time was presiding to the admiration of all on Mont Ste Geneviève. There, at his feet, I received the first rudiments of this art [of dialectic] and, so far as my moderate intelligence permitted, whatever fell from his lips I took up with all the avidity of my mind. Then, after his retirement [1136], which seemed to me over hasty, I attached myself to Master Albericus, who shone amongst the rest as a renowned dialectician, and who was in truth a most keen opponent of the school of the Nominalists. For a space of nearly two years thus dwelling upon the Mount, I employed as my teachers Albericus and Master Robert of Melun, as he was called when presiding meritoriously in the schools, although by nationality he was an Englishman. Of these two, Albericus was scrupulous in everything where he found room for question, so that he would discover some small obstacle upon a surface as level as you please; as they say, for him a bulrush was not free from knots. For even there he would demonstrate what ought to be made plain. But Robert, most ready in answering an opponent, never by seeking a subterfuge failed to join issue, but would either choose the contradictory side or, having exposed the complexity of the argument proposed, would teach that the reply to it was not a single one. So that Albericus was subtle and copious in questioning, Robert perspicacious, brief and apt in responding. If there had been any one who united in himself the qualities of these two, his equal would not have been found amongst the disputants of our time. For they were both men of keen intellect and determined perseverance; and in my opinion they might have shone forth as great and pre-eminent men in natural knowledge, if they had relied upon the great base of letters, and had followed in the steps of the ancients as much as they applauded their own inventions. This was true for the time during which I was attached to them. For afterwards, one of them went to Bologna and unlearned what he had taught, and returned and untaught it. Whether this was better, let them judge who heard him before and afterwards. Then the other [Robert], making progress in divine letters, pursued the glory of a more renowned name attached to a more eminent philosophy [*i.e.* theology].

Under these men I was exercised throughout two years [1136-8], and I grew habituated to the marked passages, to the rules and to the other elements of rudimentary learning with which boyish minds

¹ Peter Abelard (1079-1142), born at Palais in Brittany. "The Mount" is the Parisian hill now crowned by the Panthéon and the church of St Etienne du Mont.

are imbued and of which the above-named teachers had the greatest mastery and with which they were very ready, so that I appeared to myself to know all these things as well as I knew my nails and fingers. For I had certainly learned with youthful levity to esteem my knowledge more highly than it deserved. I seemed to myself to be somewhat knowing, because I was ready with what I had heard. Then, looking within and measuring my strength, by the grace of my teachers, I designedly betook myself to the grammarian [William] of Conches¹, and hearkened to him teaching for a period of three years (1138-41). In the meanwhile, I read much nor shall I ever regret that time. After that I followed Richard surnamed Bishop, a man deficient in scarcely one of the disciplines [of the Quadrivium], a man who had more heart than tongue, more knowledge than fluency, more truth than vanity, more virtue than ostentation. What I had heard from others I re-perused as a whole with him and I learned certain matters, not heard hitherto, pertaining to the Quadrivium. The Teuton, Hardewin, had previously been my teacher in the Quadrivium. I also re-read rhetoric, of which with some other persons I had previously heard somewhat from master Theodoric², but with small understanding. But I had it more fully afterwards from Peter Helias.

And since I had undertaken the instruction of certain nobles' children, who (God granting solace to my poverty, and I being without the aid of friends or relatives) furnished me with maintenance, I was compelled to recall to memory the more frequently what I had heard, by virtue of my duty to them and by the insistence of these youths. Wherefore I contracted a rather intimate familiarity with Master Adam, a man of the keenest intelligence and, whatever others may think, of great reading, who beyond all others devoted himself to Aristotle. Although he was not my teacher, he kindly communicated of his stores to me and patiently expounded them, a thing which he used either to do for no one else or to few strangers. It was supposed that he suffered from jealousy. Meantime I taught the first elements of logic to William of Soissons, who presently contrived a method, so his friends say, to put a violent end to the long reign of logic, to accumulate unexpected conclusions and to demolish the authority of the ancients. In the end, I confronted him with the aforesaid teacher [Adam]

Straitened means, the request of my companions and the advice of friends that I should undertake the office of teacher withdrew me from these disputes. I obeyed. And so returning [to Paris] at the end of three years [1141] I found Master Gilbert and heard him in logic and in sacred letters; but he was all too quickly removed. Robert

¹ The successor of Bernard, chancellor of Chartres. See p. 41 below.

² Of Chartres, brother of Bernard.

Pullus followed, whose knowledge and course of life equally commended him¹. Then Simon of Poissy, a trusty lecturer but a rather dull disputant, received me. But these two were my teachers in theology only [1141-8].

Thus almost twelve years slipped away while I was occupied in diverse studies. Wherefore it seemed to be pleasant once again to see old associates whom I had left [in 1138] upon the Mount [Ste Geneviève] and who were still detained there by dialectic, to talk over with them the ambiguities of the old days; so that by mutual conference we might measure our progress. As they had been, and where they had been, I found them still: for they did not seem to have advanced a hand's breadth towards resolving the old questions, nor had they added to them a single petty proposition. They themselves were being goaded by the same incentives with which they urged [others]; in one thing only had they advanced, they had unlearned measure and knew not moderation, so that indeed one might despair of their recovery. And thus I made trial of what can be clearly deduced, that just as dialectic facilitates other disciplines, so, if it be solitary, it lies bloodless and sterile, nor can it fertilize the soul to bear the fruit of philosophy, if it conceive not from another².

Adam, called from the spot in Paris where he was accustomed to teach, "du Petit Pont," is described as follows by John; the passage³ suggests that some of the early Paris students might have been otherwise employed with more profit to themselves.

The English Aristotelian, Adam (whose steps many followed, but few to their profit, his jealousy hindering them), used to say that he would have no hearers, or very few, if he treated dialectic with that simplicity of discourse and plainness of judgment with which it would be helpful to teach it. I knew Adam well through our repeated conversations, the interchange of books and the almost daily debate upon casual subjects of discussion. But I was not his pupil for a single day; yet I owe him thanks because from his teaching I learned much, and much of his I renounced in deference to his judgment, which I had previously otherwise read in the light of my own reason.

¹ "In the same year (1133) came Master Robert, surnamed Pullus, from the city of Exeter to Oxford and there lectured for five years on the divine scriptures (which had grown out of use at that time in England and had in fact been neglected by the scholastics) and every Lord's Day he preached the word of God to the people." A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 100. Some see in these lectures the beginning of the University of Oxford. The authority of the ms. quoted is not unquestioned. See p. 35 below.

² *Metalogicus*, bk. 3, chap. 10. Migne, *Patrologiæ Latinae*, vol. 199, cols. 867-9.

³ *Op. cit.*, bk. 3, chap. 3. Migne, *ut supra*, col. 899.

The sequence of John's studies in France should be noted. Contrary to the ancient order and doubtless in deference to the exaggerated importance then attributed to logic, he began with dialectic. Leaving Paris (Mont Ste Geneviève) and going presumably to Chartres, he studied "grammar" and the scientific subjects which constituted the Quadrivium. By this time he had been compelled to become a private tutor in order to earn a livelihood. He next revisited the Mount but, avoiding dialectic, went to study theology at the cathedral school of Notre Dame. His account of literary studies at Chartres and his adverse opinion of twelfth-century scholasticism will be found below.

In western and northern Europe, the twelfth century was one of those periods of ferment and of intellectual activity which deeply influence succeeding ages. In the field of learning and of education, this activity had much in common with the more considerable movement of some three centuries later, the Renaissance proper. The earlier movement also was a new birth, or, rather, a sudden and rapid growth of some essential features of ancient Greek and Roman civilization. Both movements included an increased zeal in the study of "humane letters"; but while that study was the conspicuous mark of the fifteenth and sixteenth century revival, the twelfth-century renaissance was chiefly one of Greek logic and Roman law. Not that these factors of ancient life now became known for the first time to the Christian world. In common with the Roman study of rhetoric, they had never been entirely lost during the period of intellectual twilight which followed the extinction of the Western Empire in the fifth century. A knowledge of Greek continued to filter into the West during the sixth and seventh centuries through Irish monasteries in communication with Egypt and Syria, and through Irish monks, the great missionaries to Teutonic paganism at that date. But, partly owing to a natural development of studies, partly in consequence of a relatively more settled order of civil life and partly owing to an increased knowledge of the works of Aristotle, the study of dialectic, of law and to a less extent of literature was pursued during the twelfth century with a zest and with a success previously unknown in Christendom.

As early as the ninth century, students had begun to collate their logic with their biblical studies, and in the course of the

next two centuries this interpenetration of Christian divinity by ancient philosophy gave rise to the scholastic theology, the Archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm being prominent amongst the orthodox students of this new learning.

Very little of the logical doctrine of Aristotle was at first generally available in the West, and that only in Latin translation; yet it was sufficient to arouse and sustain critical study. One consequence of the Crusades and of a closer association with the Moors of Spain was a greater acquaintance with Arabic learning and an increased interest in the study of Greek, of which the Arab scholars were depositaries. About the year 1128

James, a clerk of Venice, translated from Greek into Latin, and commented on, certain books of Aristotle, namely the Topics, the Prior and Posterior Analytics and the Elenchi, although there was an earlier translation of these books¹.

By 1159, the "New Logic" was known in western Europe, as the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury shows. Given the prevalent zeal for dialectic and new opportunities of examining the fountain-head, it is not surprising that by the middle of the twelfth century the whole of Aristotle's logical doctrine, as it is now known, became familiar in Latin dress to Western scholars. The *Physics* and *Metaphysics* of the same philosopher came into notice about the end of the century².

The "new Aristotle" gave a great impetus to Scholasticism, which culminated on its theological side in the work of St Thomas Aquinas (1227-74). The association of Aristotle with theological speculation and orthodoxy gave an almost inspired sanction to any teaching which was regarded as Aristotelian; for the Middle Ages, he is "*the* Philosopher," or, in Dante's phrase, "the Master of those who know." This attitude proved to be very harmful in reference to the study of natural science, more particularly because Aristotle's own teaching on the subject was frequently misunderstood.

The study of Law was another legacy from the Roman civilization, its survival being due to the fact that, like Rhetoric, it was a professional pursuit, one of the branches of training necessary for success in the great bureaucracy which administered the

¹ See Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, etc., vol. I. p. 61 n.

² Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. I. p. 507.

Roman Empire. So soon as the barbarian conquerors of Rome began to appreciate the magnitude of their conquest, they attempted to take over to their own use the administrative system in force before their coming; the adoption was especially successful in northern Italy and in Gaul. Hence the survival in those countries of the study of Roman law, later known as Civil Law in contradistinction to the Canon Law of the Church; and the study of law involved at least some attention to "Grammar," that is, to Latin letters as well as to Latin speech. At Bologna in the first quarter of the twelfth century the lectures of Irnerius attracted great numbers of students intent upon mastering Roman law, and these in turn caused additions to be made to the body of teachers who were giving instruction in that city in theology, in law and in ancillary branches of knowledge. The twelfth century was a critical period in the relations between Pope and Emperor, and the political principles which that relation implied deepened men's interest in legal studies; the papal claims asserted the existence and pre-eminence of a body of law other than the civil code of the rival power. Bologna was the place in which the earliest text-book of Canon Law appeared; this was the *Decretum* of Gratian, a Bolognese monk, whose book was published within the period 1142-1151¹.

The intellectual revival of the twelfth century was exhibited in some places as an enthusiasm for the study of philosophy, more especially of dialectic or logic, in other places as a greatly increased attention to law, in some French cities to literature, and, almost everywhere, to the systematizing of theology under the direction of Aristotelian ideas. The concourse of students and teachers gathered in different seats of learning led during the latter half of the century to the establishment of one of the most characteristic of mediaeval institutions, namely, the university.

The silent growth of the earliest universities, Bologna, Paris and Oxford, is attested by the fact that it is impossible to specify any one year within the period just mentioned as the date of foundation of any one of the three; and Cambridge came into being in the same imperceptible fashion during the opening years of the thirteenth century. Although the corporate existence of these four bodies is attested by authentic documents belonging

¹ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. I. p. 132.

to the period 1214-1230 the truth is, they never were "founded," in the sense of taking their beginning from any formal charter, whether granted by the Church or by the head of the State. A band of teachers, or the lectures of one brilliant teacher, attracted students from far and near, who found it advisable to make their temporary home in the neighbourhood of their school; *ipso facto* a learned society came into existence. In all probability, there were other, though less distinguished, teachers of law at Bologna contemporary with Irnerius, just as there were other teachers at Paris contemporary with Peter Abelard and the men named by John of Salisbury. The spirit and the practical exigencies of mediaeval life compelled these teachers to associate themselves in a gild, or corporation, called, as were all such associations, whether of teachers or of tailors, a *universitas*. The word had no special connexion with learning, and it meant a body of persons, not a place or a collection of buildings. At Bologna there were "universities" of students, which were far more influential than the universities of the teachers whom they employed and ruled. Students of law, canon or civil, were not boys and youths such as were still occupied with the seven liberal arts, but grown men, usually beneficed clergymen, intent upon fitting themselves for an official career in the service of Church or State.

The mediaeval equivalent of the modern term, university, is "studium generale," a place of learning open to all comers, where instruction in at least one "faculty" other than arts was given by a number of masters. The notion of a "republic of letters," or comity of learned men, began to be recognized, when a teacher who had learned his profession as a member of the university of teachers practising in one *studium generale* was permitted to teach in another. That a man was fitted to teach in his own *studium* was signified by granting him the degree of master or doctor in the appropriate "faculty," or group of studies; in course of time, the degree granted by certain *studia* came to be acknowledged as a certificate of competence to teach in any *studium*. But at an early moment in its history the degree acquired the character of a title of honour, rather than the mark of a particular occupation; and this honorary character caused it to be sought by men who had no intention of adopting the teacher's profession.

During the early years of the twelfth century the cathedral

schools of France were distinguished by their intellectual activity, Paris and Chartres being more especially eminent on that account. The schools of Notre Dame and of the collegiate church of Ste Geneviève attracted an extraordinary concourse of students, whose presence made Paris the very focus of intellectual life at that period. While Bologna was famous for its legal studies and Chartres and Orleans devoted themselves to literature, Paris cultivated theology, dialectic and philosophical learning in general, of which studies it became the universally recognized fountain-head. So potent was the influence of Paris, that it drew the learning of Europe north of the Alps into these channels, there to flow unobstructed for some three and a half centuries. Owing to its succession of great teachers, the cathedral school of Notre Dame became the mother of Western universities.

William of Champeaux was head of the cathedral school at the close of the eleventh century, and it was under his mastership that the school became conspicuous as a place of theological and philosophical instruction. The controversy, as old as Greek philosophy, on the nature of "universals" when expressed by "general terms"¹ was here further developed and the history of Scholasticism made a notable advance in consequence. William taught the orthodox tenet which regarded universals as real entities having an existence prior to human experience² and apart from human intelligence, which merely represented them by the employment of general terms. In total opposition to the Realism of William was the Nominalism of his contemporary and fellow-ecclesiastic, Roscelinus of Compiègne, who held that universals were only a shorthand of thought. For example, the general term, "justice," is simply a name that men affix to certain modes of behaviour which accord with a standard set up by themselves³. These two opinions had held the field throughout the controversy, from its beginning in Christian philosophy during the ninth century.

It must be remembered that the disputants were not contending about mere words or idle logic-chopping. They were in effect discussing the most fundamental of problems, namely, the nature of being in its relation to human experience. The relevance of

¹ See p. 19 above.

² "Universalia ante rem," "extra rem."

³ "Universalia post rem."

the dispute to the everyday affairs of the plain man is seen in its immediate application to his religious beliefs, more especially to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Real Presence in the Mass, and, more generally, to the positions which should be given in the scheme of things to Authority and to its counter-claimant, Reason.

In the year 1100, Peter Abelard (1079-1142), who from childhood to youth had been a pupil of Roscelinus, was attracted to the school of Notre Dame by the fame of William's teaching. But neither realism nor nominalism satisfied the keen and restless mind of this young thinker, who began to strike out a middle way of his own. While denying the existence of universals, or general notions, apart from intelligence, he yet insisted on their reality within the realm of thought. From this point of view, general terms are names and more than names, since they correspond to intellectual constructions, the "concepts" with reference to which the names are employed, and without which they would be meaningless.

Abelard passed quickly from the status of pupil to that of teacher and in the latter capacity he was first the rival, and eventually the successor, of William of Champeaux. In the beginning of his career, Abelard taught at Melun, some forty miles from Paris; later, he taught in the school belonging to the collegiate church of Ste Geneviève, immediately outside the walls. There, and in his mastership of the school of Notre Dame, his greatest triumphs were won. His teaching, particularly his method of treating logic, drew crowds of students not only from all France, but also from England, Germany and even from beyond the Alps. The cathedral school had hitherto been conducted in the cloisters; but these proved too small and inconvenient for the throng of Abelard's pupils, and the school was removed to the *parvis*, the open space fronting the western doors of the church.

Wherever he chose to teach publicly, his critical temper and clear exposition gathered crowds of disciples, whether his topic was, as at first, dialectic or, as in later years, theology. The result was that the schools and teachers in his neighbourhood were stimulated, and a demand arose for the services of yet more teachers of dialectic and theology, as well as for instruction in studies auxiliary to these. Notre Dame and Ste Geneviève were

insufficient to meet these requirements, and schools attached to certain monastic houses in and about Paris joined in the work. It must not be supposed, however, that all this intellectual ferment *originated* in Abelard's teaching. The leaven was there to begin with; theology, law, "grammar" were studies which satisfied the spiritual hunger of the age, and also opened up careers for the ambitious who were endowed with the necessary talents. But in the twelfth century men brought a new spirit to the old studies, a disposition to challenge authority which corresponded nicely with the Celtic temperament of Abelard, who, throughout his stormy and tragic history, was almost always ranged against convention and the established order.

Although it was out of this ferment and the activities which it induced that the University of Paris arose, yet indisputable evidence of the University's existence during Abelard's life-time is wanting. Still, it is significant that one of the charges brought against Abelard at the Council of Soissons in 1121 was that he had presumed to teach theology without having studied it under a master. Paris became a "city of teachers," many of them young, many of them persons whose livelihood depended upon attracting pupils, almost all of them strangers in Paris and therefore entitled to little protection from its laws and subjected to exactions by its municipal authorities. The formation of a gild or society of teachers for mutual support was in these circumstances inevitable, and the university of Masters came into being as it would seem somewhere between the years 1170 and 1175. By the end of the century the *Studium Generale* of Paris was an acknowledged institution.

The University of Oxford began in very much the same way at some time during the twelfth century. The records show that theology and law were being taught there from the early years of that century; but there is difference of opinion respecting the standing of the teachers. Some hold that they were a body of independent teachers like those of Paris; others suggest that they were "clerks" of the royal household engaged in such domestic education as has been described in the preceding chapter. A third opinion regards them as belonging to the chapter of St Frideswide, the collegiate church which preceded the present cathedral, Christ Church. But there is express evidence of the existence of

the *Studium Generale* about the year 1185¹. Cambridge is first mentioned as a seat of learning in 1209. In that year the Oxford clerks quitted that city as a protest against an arbitrary act of the townsmen which had been abetted by the Crown. Numbers of these students settled at Cambridge; whether they found an academic community established there is not known. But under date 1231, a writ of Henry III refers to the existence of the Chancellor and Masters of Cambridge, the custom of the university and the "multitude" of its students².

These early universities were no better provided with buildings than they were with foundation-deeds; they possessed the essentials only, that is, teachers and students. At Paris and at Oxford, teachers hired any available room, or rooms, for lecturing. The bridges housed many of the Paris masters, some of whom perhaps taught in the open air. "The Petit Pont," says a writer of the late twelfth century, "is dedicated to passers-by, to loungers and to disputes in logic³." Students found lodgings as best they could; there were as yet no hostels and no colleges. When the exactions or regulations made by the municipality pressed too heavily upon the academic population, the latter threatened to leave the town in a body and to disorganize its trade in consequence; a similar "*suspendium clericorum*," or strike of scholars, was the accepted mode of resisting or revenging an affront offered to academic privilege. Roger of Wendover asserts that in the *suspendium* of 1209 "three thousand clerks, masters as well as pupils, withdrew from Oxford, so that not one of the whole University remained."

The number, like that attributed to other mediaeval universities, is probably exaggerated; but these numbers are uniformly stated as considerable, and it is possible that in fact they were so. The academic population of Paris no doubt ran to thousands; it certainly included many who had small title to be considered students, and in the absence or inefficiency of discipline, the idler and the rogue found their opportunity.

It is therefore not surprising that the clerks were a motley

¹ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. II. pt. ii. pp. 341 ff.

² Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 148 ff.

³ Guido de Bazoche, 1175-1190.

and often a very turbulent throng. Some of them, who followed law or divinity, were grown men, amongst whom were beneficed clergy absent on leave from their cures. Others were mere boys in the early teens, not yet out of the "trivial" studies. A few were wealthy, most were poor. As distinguished from the pupils of a purely local cathedral school, these lads for the most part were living away from home, often in a foreign city, where they remained nine, ten or twelve years. Their teachers, in Arts at least, often held no benefice or other official position, and they were frequently in minor orders, that is, they were virtually laymen. One of the results of the rise of universities was the creation of a body of professional teachers who claimed independence of the diocesan jurisdiction exercised over schoolmasters. The completeness of their organization and the body of privilege behind which they soon entrenched themselves made the claim respected at an early stage in the history of universities. The rise of this professional body of teachers marks a relaxation of the grasp over educational organization which the Church had maintained for centuries.

The loosely associated body of teachers, which was the original form of the University of Paris, had become within the opening years of the thirteenth century an established corporation, whose membership was open only on recognized conditions, and whose duties to its pupils were capable of being stated in a definite curriculum. This is evident from the Statutes which were drawn up in August, 1215, by the papal legate, Robert de Courçon. The following is a translation of these statutes as printed by Denifle and Chatelain.

R[obert] the servant of Christ's cross, by the divine mercy cardinal priest of St Stephen on the Celian Hill, legate of the Apostolic See, to all Parisian masters and scholars, everlasting salvation in the Lord. Let all know that, since we have been specially commanded by our lord the Pope to take efficient measures for a better reform in the condition of the Parisian scholars, we, being of the number of those good men who desire to provide for the tranquillity of the scholars in future, have ordained and determined as follows.

No Parisian in Arts may lecture earlier than in the twenty-first year of his age, nor before he has heard lectures in Arts for six years at least previous to his undertaking to lecture, nor before he has declared publicly that he will lecture for two years at least, unless prevented by

a reasonable cause which he will be ready to justify publicly, or before examiners, [Nor shall he lecture] if he be in ill repute. And when it is arranged that any one shall lecture, let him be examined according to the form which is contained in the writing of our lord and father, the bishop of Paris, wherein is set forth the peace confirmed between the chancellor and the scholars¹ by arbitrators chosen by our lord, the Pope (namely, the bishop and dean of Troyes) and approved and confirmed by P[eter] bishop and J[ohn] chancellor of Paris, [And we ordain and determine] that in the schools they shall read Aristotle's Logic (as well the old as the new) in the ordinary course and not casually. In like manner, they shall read the two Priscians, or one of them at least. On festival days there shall be no lectures save those on philosophers, rhetoric, the studies of the quadrivium, Donatus's *Barbarism*, and, if agreeable, ethics and the fourth book of the *Topica*. The following shall not be read, that is to say, Aristotle's *Metaphysic* and *Natural Philosophy* and summaries of these, the teaching of Master David of Dinant, of the heretic Amalric, of the Spaniard, Mauritius².

Let there be no banquets in connexion with the meetings of masters or the "respondings" or "oppositions" of the boys or youths. They may summon some friends or associates, but only few. We advise however the bestowal, on the poor especially, of gifts, whether of clothes or of other things, according to custom, or more. No master lecturing in arts may wear a cope, except a round one, black and, at least while it is new, reaching to the ankles. He may well wear a cloak. He may not wear laced shoes with pendants beneath a round cope. If any scholar in arts or theology die, let half the masters of arts go to the funeral on that occasion, and the other half on the next, and not retire till the burial is completed, unless there shall be reasonable cause. If a master in arts or in theology die, all masters shall be present at the vigil, any one of them to read the psalter, or cause it to be read, and another to make sojourn in the church, where the vigil is observed, till midnight or late at night, unless reasonable cause shall hinder. On the day on which a master is interred, no one shall lecture or dispute.

The Pré St Germain we fully confirm to them [*i.e.* to the scholars, as against the monks of the adjoining abbey] in that condition in which it was adjudged to them.

Any one master may make a bargain with his own scholar. No one may take over a school, or house, without the consent of the tenant, so long as he has the opportunity of seeking [elsewhere]. No

¹ In 1212; an early intimation of the secular disputes between the Church, represented by the Cathedral chancellor, and the University, the "scolares."

² On the teaching of Amalric and David, and on the prohibition of certain writings, either Aristotelian or reputed to be Aristotle's, see Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, etc., vol. I. pp. 355-8.

one may begin teaching on the licence of the Chancellor [of the Cathedral] in return for money paid to the Chancellor by some one else, on account of pledged faith or other agreement made. Also the masters and scholars, as well in their own behalf as in association with others, may impose obligations, or make regulations, confirmed by good faith, penalty or oath, in these cases following, that is to say, the murder or mutilation of a scholar or savage injury inflicted on a scholar, defect of justice, taxing the rents of hostels, dress, burial, lectures and disputations, yet so that for these things the Studium shall not be dissolved nor destroyed.

As to the theologians, we determine that no Parisian may lecture before his thirty-fifth year, nor until he has studied for eight years, at least, and heard lectures on theology for five years, before he gives lectures of his own in public. And let none of them lecture before the third hour on those days when the masters are lecturing. Let no Parisian be permitted to deliver formal lectures, or to preach, except he be of approved life and knowledge. And let there be no scholar of Paris who has not his own particular master.

That these ordinances may be inviolably observed, we, by that legatine authority which is ours to employ, bind with the chain of excommunication all who shall presume contumaciously to offend against these our statutes, unless within fifteen days from the day of their transgression they take care to amend their presumptuous behaviour in the presence of the whole body [*coram universitate*] of masters and scholars or of their representatives. Done in the year of grace 1215, in the month of August¹.

It will be noted that at Paris the formal licence to teach is conferred by the ecclesiastical authority, namely, the cathedral chancellor, but the qualification for teaching is defined by an academic statute, in this case, for masterships in Arts and Theology. Paris statutes of 1252 lay down very similar requirements for "determination," that is, the degree of bachelor of Arts. Oxford also evolved that degree some time previous to 1267, when a curriculum similar in character to the Paris course of 1215 was prescribed for those about to "determine²"; it allowed the substitution of equivalent books for those named, and required the candidate to have studied "natural philosophy" in certain specified treatises of Aristotle. Bachelors, that is, student-teachers, were an early institution of the mediaeval universities whose

¹ Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1. pt. i. no. 20.

² Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 190 ff.

origin goes back to times antecedent to their first appearance in the records.

The regular routine in Arts conducted by the Masters in full practice is thus confined to the *Organon* of Aristotle and the text-books of Priscian, in other words to logic and to grammar in the formal sense. Philosophy, rhetoric and the somewhat miscellaneous learning of the Quadrivium are studied "cursorily," that is, outside the routine of the ordinary time-table and on holy days, some at least of the teachers being novices. The fears which John of Salisbury had entertained some eighty years earlier were not without justification in the event; logic was tending to become the staple of the Arts course, and an end in itself.

De Courçon's statutes take for granted methods of teaching and of exercising pupils which remained in use in all universities throughout the Middle Ages and survived in some degree down to recent times. The word commonly employed to express the teacher's function is, the verb "to read." He read, or lectured; that is, he read some authoritative text and commented upon it. In the early days, it could not be assumed that all his hearers had the text before them; he therefore dictated the text and his own exposition. But such a method was alien to the critical and argumentative spirit which animated the early universities. The teacher's commentary took the form of a logical commentary, and the progress of his pupils was measured by their ability to frame such arguments for themselves. Hence the "respondings or oppositions of the boys or youths" to which the Paris statute of 1215 refers. Disputation was the method by which the novice prepared himself for, and showed himself equal to, discharging the duty of a teacher. Exercises for a degree were in effect trial lessons in maintaining or refuting stock theses.

There were in the twelfth century French cathedral schools, like those of Chartres and Orleans, which cherished an ideal of culture different from that of Paris and which pursued a course of study more like the one which became the rule four hundred years later. But the predominance of Paris and of scholasticism made the survival of humanist learning well-nigh impossible; and Oxford was a second Paris in this and in other respects.

Chartres had long been famous when Bernard became its scolasticus in the early years of the twelfth century, succeeding

to the office of chancellor in 1119 and dying seven years later. His successor at the head of the cathedral school was his pupil, William of Conches, who, for three years, taught John of Salisbury¹ according to the method of Bernard, a method which was in effect the scheme of rhetorical teaching practised by Quintilian.

Bernard appears to have felt but little sympathy for the dialectical subtilties which were engaging some of the ablest minds of his time; and, if certain verses quoted by John of Salisbury faithfully reflect Bernard's ideal of life, he must have had even less sympathy with the strenuous students of law, logic and theology who hoped to crown their labours by lucrative employment in Church or State. "A humble mind, zeal for knowledge, a quiet life, noiseless investigation, modest means and a foreign land, these are for many wont to unlock the hidden things in their reading²." A devoted student of Plato and Aristotle (whose differences he held to be reconcilable) and an admirer of Cicero, he inaugurated a literary renaissance and founded a tradition of learning at Chartres which persisted for a hundred years and more after his death. Although John of Salisbury was but his pupil at second-hand, he has given a particular account of the method of Chartres as established by Bernard. It will be seen to be wholly unlike the instruction which was at that time leading to the foundation of universities.

Bernard of Chartres, in modern times the most overflowing fount of letters in Gaul, used to follow this method. He would show both what in the reading of authors was artless and what might be employed as an example for imitation. He used to set forth plainly grammatical figures, rhetorical embellishments, sophistical cavils, and in what part of the reading immediately under consideration the point had reference to other branches of learning; yet so, that he did not teach the whole piece-meal, but according to the capacity of his hearers, he would seasonably dispense to them a measure of doctrine. And because rhetorical brilliance arises either from propriety (that is, the neat association of adjective or verb with the substantive) or from metaphor (that is, an appropriate transfer of a word from one meaning to another) he took occasion to impress these upon the minds of his hearers. And since by exercise memory is strengthened and intelligence sharpened, he would incite some by admonitions and others by stripes and punishments to the imitation of what they heard. They were compelled

¹ See p. 27 above.

² John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, vij. 13.

in turn to explain on the following day somewhat of that which they had heard on the day before, some more, some less; for amongst them a day was the pupil of its predecessor¹. The evening exercise, which was called "Declinatio," was crammed with so great an abundance of matters grammatical, that if any one, not more than ordinarily dull, followed the exercise for a whole year, he would have at hand the doctrine of speaking and writing [Latin] and he could not be ignorant of the meaning of the language in customary use. But because neither school nor the day's life should lack religion, such material was put before them as would edify their faith and conduct, whereby those who had gathered, as it were for an assembly, might be inspired to their good. The last part of the *declinatio*, indeed, the philosophic assembly, displayed the footsteps of piety; he used to commend to his Redeemer the souls of the departed in the Lord's prayer and in the sixth penitential psalm, offered with that intention. To those who were allotted boys' preparatory exercises in imitating prose or poetry, he would propose poets or orators, ordering the boys to follow in their footsteps, and calling their attention to the connexion of the phrases and the neat conclusions of periods. If, however, any one had stitched a foreign patch into his own work with the view of ornamenting it, he would discover it and convict him of the theft; but he did not very often inflict a penalty. . . . Amongst the first rudiments, he used to teach and fasten in his pupils' minds, what virtue there is in economy [of speech], what things are praiseworthy in the embellishment of subject-matter and what in phrase; when a paucity or thinness of diction is to be approved, when an abundance, when bounds may be exceeded, when not. He advised that stories and poems should be run through attentively and as those would who were impelled by no inducements to flight; and from each with much earnestness he required that something should be committed to memory daily. Yet he used to say that the unnecessary might be suffered to fly away; that what was written by celebrated authors sufficed; . . . that to shake every sheet of paper and turn over everything having writing upon it was no more to the business than to pay attention to old wives' tales. . . . By the ancients it was rightly reputed one of the virtues of a grammarian to be ignorant of some things. And because in the whole preparatory exercise of those who are being educated nothing is more useful than to make them grow accustomed to that which ought to be done skilfully, they used daily to write on their own initiative proses and poems and exercised themselves in mutual comparisons, than which nothing is more advantageous to eloquence, nothing more facilitates knowledge, nor adds so very much to life, provided that charity rules over this earnestness, and if humility is maintained with

¹ "Erat enim apud eos praeceidentis discipulus sequens dies."

improvement in letters. For it belongs not "to the same man to serve both letters and the vices of the flesh." After the method of this master [Bernard] my teachers in grammar, William of Conches and Richard, surnamed Bishop (now by office archdeacon of Coutances, a man good in life and conversation), for some considerable time instructed their pupils. But afterwards they yielded, overcome by the onset of an unskilled mob, when opinion injured truth and men preferred to seem rather than to be lovers of learning, while professors of the Arts promised to imbue their auditors with the whole of philosophy in a shorter time than two or three years. Wherefore less time and diligence were allotted to grammatical study. As a consequence, they who professed all arts, whether liberal or mechanical, were ignorant of the first of them [*sc.* grammar], without which it is in vain to pass on to the others. . . . It is likely that he who despises grammar is not only no teacher thereof, but should not be called literate¹.

The papacy of Innocent III (1198-1216) and the reign of the emperor Frederick II (1212-1250) were marked by a determined and bloody repression of religious and political heresies, the "crusade" against the Albigenses of Provence being but an episode, though the most terrible, in the struggle between disruptive forces and the established order. Distrust of the rationalizing temper bred by the study of the "new" Aristotle is shown in the Paris statute of 1215, which forbids "artists" to read the *Metaphysic* and *Natural Philosophy*, ranking those treatises with the works of certain modern heretics².

Yet half a century later, Oxford bachelors of arts were directed to read Aristotle's *Natural Philosophy*³. This accommodation of views was brought about to a great extent through the labours of the Mendicant Orders⁴, more especially by the work of the great Dominican friar, St Thomas Aquinas. The Mendicants were, first and foremost, missionaries; their chief intellectual interest lay therefore in divinity, particularly in such a systematic form of it as could be employed in controverting heresy. This form was sought in a reconciliation between Aristotelian dialectic and the Christian scriptures, the method itself being greatly affected by that prevalence of legal studies which was one of the

¹ *Metalogicus*, I. chap. xxiv. Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 199, col. 854.

² See p. 38 above.

³ See p. 39 above.

⁴ The Friars Minors, founded by St Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) and the Order of Preachers, founded by St Dominic (1170-1221) were the chief of these thirteenth-century orders.

characteristics of the age. The climax of these studies was reached in the system expounded in the *Summa totius Theologiae* of St Thomas, composed during the last nine years of his life and subsequently regarded as the orthodox statement of Catholic theology.

But the interest of the Mendicants in theological study necessarily involved other interests which had an important bearing on the history of culture. The Dominicans were especially desirous of securing sound Greek texts of Aristotle; and the study of the Scriptures could not be satisfactorily followed in ignorance of Hebrew and other Semitic languages. There is a tradition that the first Dominicans to settle in Oxford (1221) took up their residence in the heart of the Jewry there in order to convert their neighbours. It may be suspected that the opportunity of studying their language was at least a secondary motive. As a body of public preachers, the Dominicans found it necessary to master vernacular languages, a matter of the first importance also to the Franciscans, whose activities were largely carried on amongst the poor of the great towns.

The Mendicant Orders were too intimately identified with the life of the thirteenth century to miss the meaning of the university movement. Quite at the beginning of their history, perhaps as early as 1217, the Dominicans settled in Paris, which became their intellectual headquarters. Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of Parisian scholars in their time, were both Dominicans. Oxford, on the other hand, was a Franciscan rather than a Dominican centre. The presence of these independent cosmopolitan bodies led to frequent disputes concerning rights and privileges with the Masters, which did not always terminate in favour of the latter. At Oxford in 1253, the outcome of an attempt by the Friars to secure a theological degree, without first taking a degree in Arts, was to constitute Divinity a superior faculty, open only to those who already possessed an Arts degree. A further result of this decision was the affirmation of the principles that professional studies were post-graduate, and that the University was a place of education and not of professional training only. This second principle was emphasized at Oxford a little later by the inauguration of the college system.

The Franciscan convent at Oxford became famous for the

learned men who were bred within its walls and who left them to teach in foreign universities or to lecture in English friaries. Amongst these thirteenth-century scholars none equalled in power and versatility Roger Bacon and his teacher Robert Grossetête, who was Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253.

Grossetête, the first recorded chancellor of the University of Oxford, though himself no friar but a secular priest, was a warm friend of the Oxford Franciscans, to whom he delivered lectures on their first coming to the University. His broad intellectual sympathies are a rebuke to those who identify mediaeval culture with an arid scholasticism. Grossetête was especially interested in the study of Aristotle, and encouraged new translations into Latin direct from the Greek, to replace the older versions which had been translated from Arabic versions. A great biblical scholar, a mathematician, an amateur of physical science and a writer of French verse, he also occupied a prominent place in the political and ecclesiastical life of the mid-thirteenth century. The Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon (1214?-1294), "the most astonishing phenomenon of the mediaeval schools¹" was at once Aristotelian, linguist (Greek, Hebrew, Arabic), grammarian, mathematician and, as experimenter and critic, an apostle of the inductive method in natural science three centuries before the birth of Francis Bacon. It is true that the Friar's superiors did not favour his studies, but the fear of heterodox opinions rather than inherent enmity to physical studies was the cause of their attitude. While the Mendicants of Paris were chiefly renowned as theologians, Albertus Magnus, the teacher of St Thomas Aquinas, was interested in studies which to-day would be called botany, physiography, geography, astronomy and physics; he was also a practical mechanician, whose ingenious contrivances caused vulgar opinion to class him, with Friar Bacon, as a magician, although he had himself exposed the pretensions of the Black Art. The *Speculum Majus*, one of the great encyclopaedias most frequently consulted from the mid-thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the work of a Dominican of Paris, Vincent of Beauvais, a contemporary of Albertus and St Thomas.

Yet these students of natural science were exceptional during the Middle Ages. The overwhelming authority attributed to the

¹ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. II. p. 522.

written word, which was a direct outcome of scholastic methods and of unhistorical forms of biblical study, well-nigh paralysed all observation and experimental investigation of natural phenomena. Whereas the Arabs by continuing the studies of the Greeks were making substantial progress in science, especially in mathematics and geography, the West, governed by a number of ecclesiastical prepossessions, almost stood still in respect of scientific study. For example: a genius like Roger Bacon or a man of multifarious learning like Vincent might hold the theory of a spherical earth and the existence of Antipodes. But what may fairly be called the official ecclesiastical opinion at the close of the fifteenth century was expressed by the theologians of Salamanca who condemned Columbus's projected voyage on the ground that it implied a spherical earth, a doctrine contrary to the Scriptures and to certain Latin Fathers of the Church.

Considerable as was the influence of the Mendicant Orders in the intellectual sphere, their place in the history of education does not depend on this alone. Even more important, at least in the sense that it was more widely operative, was the moral influence exerted by the spiritual ideals which the Mendicant Orders embodied. It would be a poor conception of education which gave no recognition to the effect wrought upon their own and succeeding times by the saintly lives of the founders of the thirteenth-century communities of "religious."

The haphazard method of lodging and boarding university students, with sole reference to their own desires or convenience, broke down as their numbers increased. They were then gathered into hostels, which were the private property of "regent," that is, teaching, Masters or of licensed laymen, the rents charged being as agreed between the university and the city. De Courçon's statute contains references to the practice. Such hostels, however, were for those who could pay; they did not house all who followed, or professed to follow, learning in the university, some of whom were, in literal fact, beggars, though they owed allegiance to no mendicant order. As early as 1180, a small endowment existed in Paris to provide lodging and a monthly dole for a few destitute scholars; a century later, Hugh Balsham, Bishop of Lincoln, followed the same charitable plan when he founded the endowed hostel which was later to become Peterhouse, the oldest Cambridge

college. The settlement of the Mendicant Orders in Paris and in Oxford, and the establishment, a little later, of monastic houses in those universities, introduced into university life a conception which profoundly affected its subsequent history. Each of these institutions formed a permanent society, pursuing a common aim under discipline and with an equipment which no mere boarding-house, still less a solitary student, could command. The suggestion so conveyed was strengthened by other considerations, and the outcome was the institution of colleges, the most important advance in organization made by the universities during the first century of their history.

The desire to maintain poor scholars gave birth to the endowed hostel; a sense of the value of the common life and the wish to train secular theologians, that is, students under no such rules of life as bound the "regulars" in friary or monastic house, turned the endowed hostel into a place of education. To the mediaeval mind, a community of this nature without an altar was unthinkable; and the altar inevitably carried with it the maintenance of masses at which the dead, including the founder himself in the course of nature, should for ever be remembered. All these things were combined by the institution and endowment of those self-perpetuating corporations under statute which we now call "colleges," but which were at first more usually known as "houses of scholars."

The first of these was "the House of Sorbonne," founded in Paris between 1258 and 1270 (the scheme for its establishment was developed during the intervening years) by Robert de Sorbon, chaplain and confessor of St Louis. The house was established for the maintenance and instruction of a limited number of graduates in arts who were studying theology; in the end, la Sorbonne became co-extensive with the Theological Faculty of Paris. Within the same period, Walter of Merton, chancellor of England and bishop of Rochester, was maturing plans which resulted in the foundation of the first Oxford college, "the House of the Scholars of Merton" (1264-1274). Unlike the Sorbonne and the Mendicant houses of learning, Merton was not confined to theologians, though their study was regarded as the crown of the education given within its walls. Provision was made to teach grammar to boys and the Seven Liberal Arts and philosophy to their elders; a few students

were permitted to follow law, canon and civil. Careful arrangements were made by the statutes for the maintenance of discipline.

The mediaeval college afforded a common life in hall, chapel and chamber; it provided a library, or at least a collection of books, and undertook the tuition of its members. In course of time, these advantages were sought by those who were not beneficiaries of the founder but were ready to make payment in return for his bounty; these "pensioners" or "commoners" were a constant element in the society and one source of its wealth. In 1420 Oxford, and in 1463 Paris, required students to be members of one of the then numerous colleges, or to be resident in a "paedagogogy," or hostel owned by a Master¹. The rule was made primarily for the sake of discipline, but it also marks the fact that the tutorial education given in the Colleges was overshadowing the University system of public lectures.

¹ H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford . . . to 1530*, p. 200. Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. I. p. 506.

CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATION OF CHIVALRY

IT would be wronging mediaeval education to suppose that it was confined to the schools and similar institutions described in the preceding pages. These were designed primarily for the education of the clergy, and their aims and methods were addressed to that particular kind of intellectual capacity which is termed "scholarly." Their pupils, the "clerks" or "scolares," were for the most part intended for one or more of the professions, divinity, medicine, law. The men of the Middle Ages did not think that the only type of intelligence or capacity worth educating was that of the clerk. The circumstances of their daily life compelled them to see that the clerkly training was suitable only in a very small degree to a prominent and very powerful part of the community. The education of this numerically small but important class of persons is of special interest, first, because of its long history, in the course of which it affected the conception of education in general, and, in the next place, because its underlying principle has not even yet been fully applied to public instruction, although modern conditions demand such an application. That principle is, in brief, that education should foster all sorts of capacity, not one only, however exceptional its occurrence amongst men and women.

The feudal system of land tenure divided a mediaeval kingdom into a number of cantons or provinces, each presided over by a territorial magnate, whose vassals were bound to him by personal ties quite unlike the purely economic relation of landlord and tenant. He was at once the military and the social head of the community which formed his fief. His home-life reproduced, with more or less completeness and magnificence, the court, or home-life, of the supreme over-lord, the king himself. The most conspicuous positions in the community, apart from ecclesiastical

office, were those occupied by the men who were in the closest association with their military chief.

This almost patriarchal organization of society is represented on its social side by the principles and practice of Chivalry. Regarded as an ideal of social life and service, chivalry was an institution of slow growth. Its root ideas, personal allegiance to a military chief and the protection of dependents, are of course to be discerned in the earliest feudal societies. As early as the ninth century, knighthood was a recognized distinction of military and social rank, to be conferred with special ceremonies and symbols, such as the accolade and the girding with a sword. But it was during the late eleventh century, and in the twelfth, that chivalry became a self-conscious and definitely organized institution, a fact which is marked by certain ecclesiastical associations. The earliest formula for the blessing of the knight's sword at the altar ("benedictio ensis") is found in an eleventh-century manuscript. In the same century the Council of Clermont (1095) bade all men of birth above the age of twelve take vows of knighthood for the sake of righteousness and good order. This Council set in motion the first Crusade (1096-9), and the Crusades which followed led to the rapid development of chivalry. By the close of the twelfth century, heraldry, a characteristic symbol of chivalry as a social order, had attained a recognized position. The distinctive marks borne on the shields of military families were transferred to seals, and records of arms began to be kept.

By the middle of the thirteenth century a certain artificiality had crept into the system; but its usages and course of education long survived, the latter undergoing a revival in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which affected the fortunes of modern studies in France and Germany. Apart from express instruction there were several educative elements in chivalry. One of its most distinctive practices, the tournament, began as a crude and perilous form of sport which at least fostered courage and soldierly skill, if it did not at first train the sporting virtue of fair play. Even the later, more elaborately organized and comparatively safer form of these military games was an occasion for travel, for gathering men and women from distant lands to take part in a social life whose magnificence, on great occasions at least, could not fail to affect their tastes and manners. At all times,

the etiquette of arms was international, and the knight and squire had small excuse for the "homely wit" of the homekeeping youth. Froissart, referring to the visit which he paid in the year 1388 to the court of the Comte de Foix, says:

News from every kingdom and country whatsoever one learned at that court; for, on account of the lord's valour, it *rained* news from all lands. There was I informed of the greater part of the deeds of arms which had been done in Spain, Portugal, Arragon, Navarre, England, Scotland and on the frontiers and limit of the Langue d'Oc; for there, during the time of my sojourn, I saw come knights and squires of all these countries. So I got my information either from these gentlemen themselves, or from the Comte, who willingly spoke to me on the subject. (*Chroniques*, bk. III, chap. xiii.)

Chivalry was not without the defects of its qualities, the vices of well-to-do, full-blooded humanity when it forgets its responsibilities. *Noblesse oblige*. But the maxim did not always prevent the occurrence of brutal violence and cruelty, nor suffice to maintain a high standard of conduct in the relations of the sexes. The fantastic measures adopted to honour ladies sometimes became the instruments of their dishonour; the tournament in its earlier days lay under the ban of the Church. The third Lateran Council (1179) was ready to deny Christian burial to those who died in a tourney, and in 1220 pope Honorius III threatened with excommunication all who took part in, or who helped to arrange, these encounters¹.

The ideals of chivalry prescribed a long and careful preparation for the degree of knighthood which was quite unlike the preparation of the scholar, because it was directed to capacity of a different kind. It sought to educate a man of action, the ruler, soldier, courtier, not the thinker, or fluent speaker or clerkly ecclesiastic. The schools offered but a limited exercise ground for capacity of this sort, and a different kind of instruction was necessary. The appropriate school for this purpose was the feudal court and the lord's household. The sons and daughters of the more considerable tenants joined the family of their overlord, some as wards and others simply for the sake of education. Charlemagne had maintained a Palace School which moved with his court, so that it was held now in one, now in another centre of his empire, his capital, Aachen, being its most permanent seat. Its first

¹ Mary Bateson, *Mediaeval England*, p. 164.

teacher was Alcuin, and its pupils included Charlemagne himself, his wife, sister, daughter and three of his sons, as well as youthful nobles. This so-called school was similar in character to the band of household clerks maintained by great ecclesiastics, though more elementary and less academic or professional. The author of *De rebus gestis Aelfredi* (whether Alfred's contemporary, Asser, or someone else writing a century later) attributes a similar school to the West Saxon king. As more settled times arrived and the feudal order was more firmly established, the leading nobles imitated the practice of their chiefs, and the household school was more and more differentiated from the clerkly school. A castle in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was amongst other things a place of education for boys and girls belonging to the socially prominent class, including not only the children of the lord's tenants but others whose parents believed the house to be especially successful in education. "Every knight should place his son in service with another knight that he may learn in his youth to carve at table and to serve, arm and equip a knight¹."

For the first seven years of his life, the boy was educated by his mother or, if a motherless ward, by his guardian's wife. The mother taught him to speak; in England for some two hundred and fifty years after the Conquest such a child's mother-tongue was Norman-French, and French remained the court language till 1362, when it was replaced by English. The mother also taught the child religion, trained him in his religious duties and supervised his morals and manners. In some cases, she taught him to read. The story that Alfred learned to read in order to win from his mother a prettily illuminated book, is due to a possible misunderstanding of Asser's text, if it be Asser's; what is certainly true is that the author, whether writing in the ninth or at the close of the tenth century, draws a domestic picture of Osburh and her young sons greatly interested in a book.

At the age of seven, nursery education terminated, and the boy, or girl, passed to the castle of the feudal lord, or of the parents' relatives or friends. Between his seventh year and the fourteenth, the boy was called "damoiseau," "domisellus," or "valet," "valetus." His education was chiefly domestic and

¹ De la Curie de Ste Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, Paris, 1781, vol. i. p. 56.

largely in the hands of the ladies of the house. The earlier training and instruction were continued; as the boy grew, these were supplemented by physical training and an indoctrination of the graces of social intercourse, the master of the house and the men closest to him thus sharing the educational labour of the women. To run, to leap, to ride, to practise open-air sports and the use of toy weapons, to carry the heavy shield of the knight, and, in his last years, help the squire in arming and in giving personal attendance on his master; these formed his more strenuous occupations. Indoors he served the ladies as page, learned to play chess, backgammon, draughts, and shared the feminine society of the "bower," or boudoir, where he discovered at first hand what his womenfolk expected from him as a grown man.

The final stage preceding knighthood lasted from the age of fourteen to that of twenty-one, or thereabouts, during which time the learner was "squire." Primarily his service was now that of a soldier, and the use of arms and particularly the management of the heavy war-horse, with athletic sports of a military kind, took up much of his time. But he was still under domestic tutelage. He waited or carved at table, prepared the hall for dancing or the entertainments given by tumblers and minstrels, and, in his most advanced stage, was "squire of the body" to his lord, a position beyond which some never advanced, for "squire" was a term of social rank as well as a title of office. But every squire was "squire of dames," in which connexion he was singer, harper, dancer and sometimes poet.

Chaucer's Squire is a portrait drawn at a later period, but it breathes the spirit of the education of chivalry and anticipates that doctrine of courtesy which guided the up-bringing of the sixteenth-century man of rank. It will be remembered that this lad of twenty had seen service with his father in France and Flanders.

Short was his gowne with sleeves longe and wyde,
 Wel coude he sitte on hors and faire ryde.
 He coude songes make and wel endyte,
 Juste and eek daunce, and wel purtreye and wryte.

* * * * *

Curteys he was, lowly and servisable,
 And carf biforn his fader at the table.

Prologue, *Canterbury Tales*, 93 ff.

It cannot be pretended that the feudal baronage was composed of persons who were "educated" in the modern sense of that word, or that none of its members was unable to read and write; but prejudice has quite unwarrantably extended the amount of sheer illiteracy prevalent amongst them. Even the absence of personal subscription to official documents, or the presence of the mark + in them, does not prove that the person concerned could not write his name, as S. R. Maitland long ago pointed out¹. The "mark," symbolical of the Cross, was in effect equivalent to the taking of an oath, and might therefore be affixed, whether the person could write or not; the custom survives in some ecclesiastical signatures. Apart from ability in the subscriber, the scribe was sometimes left to add the name as well as its owner's numerous titles. And men might very well be able to read who could not write. Charlemagne is said to have spoken Latin as fluently as German, and (though this must be accepted doubtfully) to have had some acquaintance with Greek; but he was either a poor penman, or could not write at all.

Chaucer's fourteenth-century squire could draw and write; he could therefore read. If he had had any "schooling," this would mean that he could *read* Latin; if he had been taught by his mother, his accomplishment would be in French, English or both languages. Stubbs saw in the growth of French historical poems of the late twelfth century the response to a demand by women for a literature of their own, written neither in Latin nor in English².

The Squire might have learned to read and write without crossing the threshold of a school. Asser, or the writer who assumed his name, represents Alfred and his brothers as likely to learn to read an English book while they were still children, and he says expressly that Alfred's youngest son and the noble children of the whole country [*totius regionis*, presumably all Wessex] read both Latin and English books in school, and that they had the opportunity of writing, because they were too young to learn hunting and other arts befitting noblemen. On that account they were found studious and ingenious in the liberal arts³. In the opinion of this

¹ See S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, 1845, pp. 9 ff.

² *Seventeen Lectures*, etc., pp. 177-8.

³ W. H. Stevenson, Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, p. 58. The editor maintains that the *Life* is the work of Alfred's friend, Bishop Asser.

ninth or tenth century author, children of birth learned the rudiments at least of book-lore in their early years. This may be no more than a re-assertion that Alfred, no less than Charlemagne, had his Palace School; whether that is so or not, the author does not think that learning the art of writing is incompatible with the boys' rank.

Like the upbringing of her brother, the education of the mediaeval girl of rank was expressly practical, intended to fit her to preside over a household; but this did not exclude attention to the accomplishments and amenities of social life. It is not probable that the instruction given by their mothers to children younger than seven differed on account of sex; the teaching of religion, the training in morals and manners, and instruction in speech and reading were in all probability shared alike by girls and boys. In the frequent absence of their husbands, great ladies were called upon to administer their estates, and not infrequently to stand a siege, or even direct a defence, of their strongholds. Distinction in deeds of this order is, of course, the result of character and not of mere teaching; but the achievements of particular women would only strengthen a tradition rooted in feudal ideas, and thus make an ideal for all women of that rank. At sessions and assizes, the great landed proprietress sat "*gladio cincta*" amongst her masculine peers¹, the girded sword symbolizing the wearer's privilege of dispensing justice.

She and her less exalted sisters were carefully instructed in the principles and practice of household economy; the provision and preparation of food made large demands on organizing ability, in days when most estates fed their residents. The assistance of stewards and the minute regulation of tenants' services to be rendered in kind did not make the mistress's supervision unnecessary. The "still-room" of the eighteenth-century mansion owed its origin to the preparation of "simples," or vegetable drugs, which was part of the mediaeval lady's lore. The practice of medicine and of a crude surgery were within her recognized province, and for these duties she received a traditional instruction in which common-sense, empiricism and magic were strangely blended; traces of it still survive. The twelfth-century abbess and mystic, St Hildegard of Bingen, wrote a *Physica* (that is,

¹ C. Mills, *The History of Chivalry*, vol. I. p. 236.

Physical, or Natural, Philosophy) which is in effect a *materia medica*; it has been commended by modern historians of Medicine on that ground, in spite of its other and unscientific features.

A scheme propounded during the reign of the French king, Philip IV (1285-1314), by Pierre Dubois illustrates the mediaeval confidence in women as practitioners of the healing art. The conquest of Palestine by force of arms having failed, Dubois proposed to try persuasion upon its Saracen and Greek Christian inhabitants. He would dissolve many of the religious houses, and with their confiscated revenues endow schools for children of both sexes, admitting pupils at four or five years of age. The boys were to learn Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and other oriental tongues in order to preach Western Christianity in the Holy Land; the girls were to learn medicine, surgery and ancillary arts, in order to win over the Saracen warriors by curing their wounds, or to convert the Greek priests, who were not vowed to celibacy, by way of marriage. This particular crusade never had a beginning¹.

Needlework was a universal occupation of women; English nuns in especial were famous for artistic needlecraft and embroidery, their work being very highly valued abroad. In the earlier ages at least learning to read included an acquaintance with the Psalms in Latin; "decurso psalterio" ("having run through the psalter") was a phrase used of both sexes to indicate that the elements of learning had been acquired.

The woman of rank shared many of the outdoor occupations of the men of her family, and hawking was notable amongst these. Within doors, the girl learned to sing and to accompany herself on the harp, to play chess, backgammon and similar games, to take her place in her lady's bower, to serve her lady as her brother served his lord, and generally to acquire the usages of society by actual experience.

The foregoing may be taken as describing the practice of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Gottfried of Strasbourg's version (1210) of the French poem *Tristan and Iseult* represents the hero as teaching Iseult, a queen's daughter, music, song, French, Latin, courtly arts and manners, morals; the lady could

¹ See Charles Jourdain, *Mémoires sur l'éducation des femmes au moyen âge.*

read and write, compose and sing pastorelles, rondeaux and other forms of versification. The picture no doubt represents, with perhaps heightened colour, the ideal for women of birth current at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It could be achieved in the home without any formal schooling whatever. The same minimum of bookish instruction is implied in the following passage from *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry* (1371), a work of some two hundred printed pages on the upbringing of girls. The passage cited contains all that is said about book-learning.

How be it there be suche men that have opynion that thei wolde not that her [their] wyves nor her doughtres shulde knowe no thinge of the scripture: as touchinge unto the holy scripture, it is no force though women medill not nor knowe but litell therof but forto rede; everi woman it is the beter that canne rede and have knowings of the lawe of God, and forto have be lerned to have vertu and science to withstonde the perilles of the sowle, and forto use and excuse the werkys of thaire savement, for that is thinge aproved and necessarie to all women¹.

The earliest introduction into England of compulsory instruction, universal in reference to boys and men, was occasioned by the French wars of the fourteenth century. The customary feudal levies were not equal to the demands of the struggle and in consequence Edward III revived a statute of Edward I and so extended its provisions as to enact compulsory military service on all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty. The principle of the nation in arms and the practice of conscription are inventions of Plantagenet England which, in effect, first in modern times made infantry the dominant arm in the field. The long bow and the pike were the ancestors in direct line of the magazine rifle and bayonet; and the English archer was the most formidable of European soldiers. A series of Archery Acts, the earliest dating from the time of Edward III and the latest passed in 1541, directed that Englishmen of all ranks should exercise themselves in shooting and that, under heavy penalties, they should refrain from such sports, as tennis and bowls, as would occupy time which ought to be given to archery. Bishop Latimer laments the failure of these laws to maintain the standard of

¹ *The Book*, etc., p. 118, E. E. T. Society's sixteenth-century translation from the original French. Revised edition, 1906.

good shooting and describes the practice current during his own boyhood.

In my time, my poore father was as diligent to teach me to Shoote as to learne me any other thing, and so I thinke other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bowe, and not to draw with strength of armes as other nations doe, but with strength of the body. I had my bowes bought me, according to my age and strength; as I encreased in them, so were my bowes made bigger and bigger; for men shall never Shoote well, except they be brought up in it. It is a goodly Arte, a wholesome kinde of exercise and much commended in Phisicke. . . . In the reverence of God let it be continued¹.

Hugh Latimer, a yeoman's son, was born about the year 1485.

¹ "Sixth Sermon before King Edward" (VI), in *Sermons by Hugh Latimer* (Parker Society, 1844).

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT PESTILENCE

THE Black Death of 1348-9 was followed by a partial paralysis of all forms of the national life, public education being amongst the activities which suffered most. It is estimated that one-half, or more than one-half, of the population perished; and the evidence shows that the clergy furnished at least its full proportion of victims¹. Long after the visitation had passed, its ravages were expressly named as a cause of the dearth of scholars and the disorganization of public teaching. Founders of colleges at Cambridge (Corpus Christi, 1352; Clare, 1359) and at Oxford (Canterbury College, 1362, and New College, 1400) assign, as a reason for their generosity, the serious diminution of priests and clerks which had been caused by the pestilence. An "act" of 1368 of the York Minster chapter complains of the "rarety of masters of arts" in "the time of the late mortality"; yet in the preceding year the Archbishop forbade "chaplains, holy-water-bearers and many others of that sort" to keep unlicensed song schools in "parish churches, houses and other places" within the city². The prohibition appears to testify at once to the lack of properly qualified teachers, and to a considerable demand for teaching.

So far-reaching in its consequences was the devastation wrought by the great pestilence and the minor, but still very serious, plagues which visited England during the closing years of Edward III, that a general recovery was not brought about, until a new economic order was established in the succeeding century. Yet the generation of Englishmen who survived the

¹ F. A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*. The population of England and Wales at that time is variously estimated at a figure between two and five millions.

² Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, vol. 1. pp. 22 f.

terrible mortality showed wonderful powers of recovery and of adaptation to altered conditions. They were not slow in making good the deficiencies of their educational system, and it was in their time that the oldest of what are to-day called the "Public Schools" had its origin.

William of Wykeham (1324-1404), bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, by reason of his complementary foundations of "Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre" (Winchester College, 1382) and "Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenforde" (New College, 1379), was one of the greatest benefactors of English education. Winchester College¹ was distinguished above the schools of its time by the greatness of its material resources, by its large measure of freedom from external control and by the admission of boys of good family from all parts of the country. But in its aims and methods and in the intentions of its founder, the school was not different from a number of much humbler foundations belonging to the mediaeval period. The indebtedness of modern English education to "the pious founder" is incalculable, and it is therefore necessary to recall the purposes which these men and women cherished and the means by which they hoped to attain them. From this point of view, William of Wykeham and his two colleges may be regarded as representative.

Most of these foundations were expressly called "schools" or "grammar schools"; in substituting the name, "college," Wykeham was apparently emphasizing both its looser connexion with the diocesan, and the nature of its domestic life. Its seventy scholars were to live "collegially," that is, in community under a routine strictly prescribed by statutes. As Mr Leach points out², Wykeham's school was organized on the lines of a collegiate church; but, whereas the school was usually a subordinate part of such a foundation, it was the church which here occupied the inferior place. Henry VI followed the precedent when founding Eton College in 1440.

The mediaeval benefactor of education had in view two chief objects, the honour of God and the repose of the souls of

¹ For whose history, consult T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, 1892; A. F. Leach, *A History of Winchester College*, 1899.

² *History of Winchester College*, p. 89.

the departed, amongst whom he himself would in time be numbered. Wykeham founds Winchester College "to the praise, glory and honour of the name of the Crucified and of the most glorious virgin Mary, His mother." Henry VI endows at Eton a body of bedesmen to pray for him living and

for our soul when we have migrated from this light, and for the souls of the illustrious ones, prince Henry our father, lately king of England and France, the lady Catharine of most serene memory, lately his consort, our mother, and all our ancestors, and for the souls of all the faithful departed¹.

As will be seen later, the desire to perpetuate prayer for the dead gave occasion for important developments of educational organization during the later Middle Ages.

The statutes (1400) of New College briefly yet fully express the specific purposes which Wykeham intended his two foundations to serve. His intention was

that in the same college by the grace of God diversity of knowledge shall thrive, and diversity of faculties also, that is to say, the faculties of philosophy [*i.e.* arts], civil and canon law, and above all of sacred theology, that in especial Christ may be preached more fervently and more frequently, and the faith and worship of the divine name may be augmented and more strenuously sustained².

Of the seventy scholars, not more than twenty were to be engaged in legal studies; the rest must devote themselves to arts, or philosophy and theology³. The supreme purpose is a religious one; but in order to attain it in the persons of the adult students of New College, a boys' preparatory school is required, for reasons which are stated in the foundation deed of Winchester.

But because, as experience our teacher manifestly instructs us, grammar becomes the foundation, gate and origin of all other liberal arts, without which arts of this kind cannot be known, nor any one attain to the pursuit of them; considering moreover that through the knowledge of letters justice is honoured and the wellbeing of man's estate is increased, that not a few who study other parts of knowledge very often run the risk of failure in their cherished projects, owing to their want of good teaching and of sufficient scholarship in grammar⁴,

¹ Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for . . . Eton College*, 1850, p. 389.

² A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 352.

³ *ibid.*, p. 354.

⁴ Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 441; Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

he, Wykeham, proposes to devote some of his wealth to the establishment of a college, or school, for "poor scholars clerks" to the number of seventy.

The foundationers of both colleges are described as "poor and indigent scholars"; and the same words are used in the statutes which were drawn for Henry the Sixth's "Royal College of the Blessed Mary of Eton by Windsor." The New College statutes contain a stipulation which may serve as a gloss on this common form.

Item, we determine ordain and will that no man having lands tenements possessions or annual produce, spiritual or temporal, the returns and profits of which exceed the yearly value of five marks sterling may be elected or even admitted into the said College of Oxford, our blood-relations excepted;

these are eligible even if their annual income stands as high as twenty marks. The mark was the sum of thirteen shillings and fourpence; allowing for the change of monetary values, five marks in 1400 may be roughly taken as about sixty-five pounds of modern money¹. It was the annual salary of the usher or head master's assistant at Winchester, where the minimum stipend of a chaplain was two pounds. Five marks met the cost of a Winchester scholar's commons, or board, for a continuous period of nearly two years at the statutory rate of eightpence per week; at Eton five marks would pay for a scholar's commons throughout an unbroken period of more than eighteen months.

Wykeham did not confine the advantages of Winchester College to its seventy foundation scholars nor to the "indigentes et pauperes," from which class they were drawn. The sixteenth rubric, or clause, of the statutes of 1400 contains a sentence to this effect.

Yet we allow that the sons of notable and influential persons, friends in especial of the said College, to the number of ten may be taught and instructed in grammar within the same College and without burdening it.

That is, ten "extranei," "commensales," or "commoners," might share with the scholars the instruction given by the master and

¹ Evaluating sums of money in the past is exceedingly difficult, when particular payments are in question. The modern values occasionally stated in this book are based on the standard of 1900-1914; they do not pretend to be exact.

usher, but they were to pay for their board and lodging. A similar provision occurs in the statutes (1444) of Eton, where the number of such "extranei" is fixed at twenty and the privilege is extended to persons maintained "for piety's sake" by the notable and influential¹. The foundation deed of Eton already quoted establishes

a master or tutor in grammar who shall instruct in the rudiments of grammar gratis and without exacting money, or anything else, the said [twenty five] indigent scholars and others whomsoever streaming to the said College from whatsoever part of our realm of England².

There were commoners at Winchester during Wykeham's lifetime; and in 1412, eight years after Wykeham's death, Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, complained that the commoners outnumbered the seventy scholars, and directed that they should be limited to the statutory number, ten, because "one master is not sufficient to instruct so large a number of boys³."

It is clear then that the phrase "poor and indigent scholars" as used at the foundation of Winchester and Eton must not be interpreted too precisely, nor in the modern sense. Mr Leach has suggested that it was merely a legal fiction, necessary to give countenance to the appropriation of church property for educational purposes⁴.

The constitution of Eton College was modelled upon that of Winchester; William Waynflete, the first headmaster of Eton, had filled the same office at Winchester from 1428 to 1442; of the first five headmasters of the younger school, four were Wykehamists. There is reason, therefore, in the claim that Winchester College is the "Mother of the Public Schools." But the peculiar distinction now implied by the term "Public School" did not then exist. There were "public schools" known by that name before 1382. A letter written in 1364 by William of Edyngdon, Wykeham's predecessor in the see of Winchester, refers to the "public school" (*scolas publicas*) belonging to the "parishioners" of Kingston-on-Thames⁵. From the middle of the twelfth century,

¹ Heywood and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 535.

² *ibid.*, p. 390.

³ Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁴ *History of Winchester College*, p. 94. The latest Wykehamist historian (Mr A. K. Cook, *About Winchester College*, 1917) dissents from the opinion stated in the text.

⁵ Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 318.

there occur references, few in number though they are, to grammar schools founded and maintained by townspeople, more especially by religious associations of lay people. Mr Leach prints in his *Educational Charters* documents relating to gild schools at Bristol (1141), Basingstoke (1244) and Wisbech (1379), and he shows reason to believe that Winchester possessed a public grammar school governed by the municipality long before Winchester College was founded¹. Such schools were not entirely withdrawn from the bishop's jurisdiction, nor did they give an education different from that given by the schools of the Church, from which they were distinguished by their lay origin and management.

Their creation shows that the Church was failing to keep pace with the expansion of the urban population. In the great industrial and commercial centres of Germany the fact was even more evident. Contests between the town-councils and the local scolasticus in reference to the educational monopoly of the latter were frequent during the second half of the thirteenth century; by the close of the fourteenth century, a permanent victory had been achieved by the towns, often through the direct intervention of Rome. The struggle commonly began in a proposal to attach a school to a parish church distant from the cathedral, or collegiate church, which was the recognized educational centre. Next, a compromise was effected, by which it was agreed that the council should appoint the schoolmaster, that the scolasticus should confirm the appointment and receive a portion of the school fees. Finally, the hold of the scolasticus was weakened, or quite relaxed, and the "Town Schools" or "Council Schools" were freed from external control².

The Winchester statutes³ of 1400 make provision for certain outstanding matters of organization which enable us to realize in part what the general life of the school was. The qualifications for admission as scholar are enumerated in the second rubric, or statute.

¹ *History of Winchester College*, chap. III. Winchester High School.

² See Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, vol. I, pp. 17 ff.; C. Nohle in Rein's *Encyclopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*, art. Deutsches Knabenschulwesen, vol. 2, pp. 45 f.

³ Printed in full in the original Latin by Kirby, *op. cit.*, pp. 455 ff.

We determine, ordain and will . . . that all and singular eligible as scholars in our said college near Winchester be poor and indigent, thoroughly adorned by good manners and circumstances, fitted for study, respectable in manner of life, competently instructed in reading, plain-song and the old Donatus.

Founder's kin excepted, scholars were admissible between the ages of eight and twelve; but a boy under seventeen might be admitted, provided he was so instructed in grammar that, in the judgment of the electors, he could be sufficiently advanced in that study on completing his eighteenth year. Whatever might be a scholar's progress in grammar at that age, he must leave the college, unless his name was on the roll for admission to New College, Oxford, in which case he might remain at Winchester till the end of his nineteenth year "and no longer." Founder's kin might remain till completion of the twenty-fifth year. All scholars must have the first tonsure on admission, or receive it within their first year at school¹.

The school staff consisted of a schoolmaster (*magister informator*) and his assistant, the usher (*hostiarius*), neither of whom enjoyed the fixity of tenure which belonged to the offices of Warden, Vice-Warden and Priest Fellow. Their duties are assigned in the twelfth rubric, in which the Warden and Fellows are directed to provide

in perpetuity a schoolmaster, sufficiently learned in grammar, skilled in teaching, a man of good report and manner of life, hired and removable, who shall assiduously teach and instruct the scholars of the said college in grammar, attend to them diligently, supervise attentively their life and manners, and reprove and duly punish and chastise any delinquents, without respect of persons or other partiality whatsoever, always provided that in chastising he never exceeds measure.

Those who refuse to undergo punishment, or whom the master cannot punish, he is to report without delay to the Warden. Under the schoolmaster there was always to be

another teacher, similarly hired and removable, established by the Warden and Fellows, a man of good report and respectable circumstances, who shall diligently assist the aforesaid master . . . and, in his absence, fill his place . . . whom we will shall be called the Usher.

¹ See above, p. 6 n., "Clerk."

Both teachers are forbidden to ask, lay claim to, or exact, from the scholars, their parents or their friends, anything in return for their instruction. The Eton statutes of 1444¹ set forth similar qualifications for the master and usher, and define their standing by saying they should be respectively master and bachelor of arts "if such may be conveniently obtained." Both are to be unmarried; the usher must not be in holy orders, and the master must not hold a priestly office within seven miles of Eton.

The stipend of the Winchester master is fixed by the twenty-sixth rubric at ten pounds per annum, which is three times that of the usher. The master also received eight yards of cloth each year, valued at fourteen shillings, three shillings and fourpence being allowed for fur trimming in addition. The usher's portion was five yards of cloth, without fur trimming. Commons were calculated at one shilling per week; long absences were forbidden. The Warden's stipend was twenty pounds, with an allowance for two horses and three servants; he also received twelve yards of cloth yearly. In modern money, and omitting consideration of lodging, the annual emoluments of the master may be put roughly at £270, those of the usher exceeding £120.

Rubric xxxiv institutes the Winchester "prefects" or monitors.

In each lower chamber there shall be at least three respectable scholars, more advanced than the rest in physical development, judgment and knowledge, who shall superintend the others, their chamber-fellows, and diligently supervise them and, from time to time, as often as cause or need be, truly certify and inform, when required, the Warden, Vice-Warden and Schoolmaster, according to their proper oath to the College, concerning the manners, conduct and progress in learning of the scholars, that those who allow a defect in their manners, or who are negligent or indolent in their studies, may receive due and sufficient chastisement, correction and punishment according to their demerits.

The original schoolroom at Winchester measured $45\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 28 feet 10 inches wide, and $15\frac{1}{4}$ feet in height. It was lighted by three windows, but was without a fire-place; the master and usher sat each at his raised desk, commanding the room².

¹ Heywood and Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 524-5.

² Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

According to modern standards, the floor-space was insufficient for the accommodation of the eighty pupils contemplated by the statutes; it was not the custom in the mediaeval schoolroom to give to each pupil a seat which he occupied throughout the day. But, if Cardinal Beaufort was rightly informed, there was excessive over-crowding at the date (1412) when he forbade the admission of more commoners. The absence of any provision for warming the room was characteristic of an age which built in stone, not brick; the monk and the student tried to keep warm during winter by periodical visits to the great fire in hall or "warming-room," and by the use of heavy clothing.

John of Trevisa (1326-1412), who translated into English the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden (d. 1364), interpolates within this translation a note on the school practice current when Winchester College was founded. Translating Higden, he says that the mingling of languages in this country had injured English speech.

This injury to the mother tongue is due to two things. One is, that school-children, contrary to the usage of all other nations, are compelled to leave their own tongue and to construe their lessons and things in French, and have done so since the Normans came first into England. Also, gentlemen's children are taught to speak French from the time they are rocked in their cradles and can speak and play with a child's brooch; and rustic men will liken themselves to gentlemen and with great pains try to speak French, to be the more accounted of.

Thus far Higden: Trevisa continues:

This manner was much used before the first murrain (1348-9), and is since somewhat changed. For John Cornwall, a master of grammar¹, changed the learning in grammar schools and construction of French into English; and Richard Pencrych learned that manner of teaching from him, and other men of Pencrych; so that now, the year of our Lord, 1385, the ninth year of Richard II, in all the grammar schools of England children leave French, and construe and learn in English, and have thereby advantage on one side and disadvantage on the other. Their advantage is that they learn their grammar in less time than children were wont to do. The disadvantage is that now children of the grammar school know no more French than does their left heel, and that is harmful if they should pass the sea and travel

¹ He was master of the grammar school of Merton College. Mr Leach traces him there in 1347-8; see *Educational Charters*, p. 300.

in strange lands, and in many [other] cases. Also gentlemen have now largely ceased to teach their children French¹.

Trevisa marked the Black Death as a turning point in the fortunes of English in English schools; but the change which he chronicles is but a minor feature in a general movement, social and political. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, and possibly earlier still, it was necessary to teach French as a foreign language to some English children of Norman descent. The point is illustrated in the "treatise which Walter de Bibelesworthe made for Dyonisie de Mouchensy," a Kentish heiress who died in 1313. This early example of modern language teaching was printed in *A Volume of Vocabularies . . . from the Tenth Century to the Fifteenth*, by Thomas Wright². It consists of some eight hundred lines in French rimed couplets dealing with the affairs of every-day life, great and trivial. The brief prose introduction states that its purpose is that "children may know the properties of the things which they see, and when they ought to say 'mon' and 'ma,' 'son' and 'sa,' 'le' and 'la,' 'moi' and 'je.'" The book also gives instruction respecting French idiom, particularly with reference to French words having various meanings in English, and English phrases which must be variously turned in French according to circumstances. The interlinear "glosses" are in English.

It is probable, then, that John Cornwall of Merton College School was only recognizing accomplished facts, when he replaced French by English in the construing lesson. Norman-French ceased to be the one language of the English Courts and Parliament in 1362. A century later, we find an old Oxford man, forty-three years of age, studying French under a Lombard, and getting the nickname "Frenchy" (*Colinus Gallicus*) in consequence³.

The use of verse as a device for making rote easier was not a novelty when Walter de Bibelesworthe wrote his "treatise." The most popular grammar book during the fourteenth century was the *Doctrinale*, written in Latin hexameters by Alexander

¹ These passages from Trevisa have been modernized. The originals will be found in Morris and Skeat's *Specimens of Early English*, Pt II, pp. 241 f., and in the Rolls edition of Higden's *Polychronicon*, vol. II. p. 157.

² Second edition, 1882, pp. 142-174.

³ The *Paston Letters*, vol. I. pp. 43 and 445.

de Villa Dei, who published it about the year 1200¹. The book slowly won its way to the front, and the statutes imposed by papal authority upon the University of Paris in 1366 prescribed its use in place of the "Major" and "Minor" treatises of Priscian². As these statutes were by way of reforming the course of studies, and as the example of Paris was followed by other continental universities and schools, it may be assumed that the *Doctrinale* was regarded by fourteenth-century opinion as an accepted standard of grammatical teaching. The author is known by several names, e.g. "Alexander Grammaticus," "Dolensis," "Parisiensis," "Gallicus," "Normannus"; he gets his most frequently used name from his place of birth, Villedieu, in the modern French department of La Manche. Little is known of his life; he died a canon of St Andrew's, Avranches.

The work consists of 2645 hexameter lines, largely doggerel, divided into three parts, dealing respectively with etymology, syntax and quantity, accent, figure. In Part I, the subjects are the declensions (ll. 29-363) with an addendum on heteroclit forms (364-457), the comparison of adjectives (458-498), the gender of nouns (499-693), preterites and supines (694-949), defective and anomalous verbs (950-1047) and conjugation (1048-1073). Part II treats of concord (1074-1368) and construction (1369-1549), while Part III is devoted to quantity (1550-2281), accent (2282-2360) and the rhetorical figures (2361-2639). It will be seen that much space is given to exceptional forms; almost as many lines are occupied with the five declensions as are spent upon syntax as a whole.

Much of the subject-matter is derived from Priscian, but the parts devoted to syntax and prosody are original statements of those topics as conceived by the mediaeval grammarians. The treatment of rhetorical figures, with its uncouth terminology, is not new; the tradition of rhetorical instruction, inherited from Roman times, had never been entirely lost. The *Doctrinale* was intended for "clericuli novelli," not absolute beginners of seven or thereabouts, but children whose entry into clerkship was still recent.

¹ D. Reichling's critical and exegetical edition of the *Doctrinale* forms vol. XII. of the *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, 1893.

² Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. I. p. 436.

If at first the boys are unable to give complete attention, let him who discharges the office of teacher attend and, using untechnical language, he will unlock it for them. But even for boys, most of the book will be easily accessible (*ll.* 7-10).

Alexander himself describes it as an intermediate book, to be read between the less and the greater "alphabets," these being two works by the author, or, possibly, the Donat and Priscian Major.

The lines devoted to the first declension (*ll.* 29-45) may be quoted as illustrative. The words "quartus" (*l.* 32), "quintus" (*l.* 35), etc., mean "fourth place," "fifth place," etc., referring to the traditional sequence of cases as arranged in grammar books down to the appearance of the Public School Latin Primer (1866). Alexander's language implies reference to a tabulated form, actually written or at least present to "the mind's eye"; but the device does not appear in the work itself.

Rectis *as, es, a* dat declinatio prima,
 atque per *am* propria quaedam ponuntur Hebraea
 dans *ae* diphthongon genetivis atque dativis.
am servat quartus; tamen *en* aut *an* reperimus,
 cum rectus fit in *es* vel in *as*, vel cum dat *a* Graecus.
 rectus in *a* Graeci facit *an* quarto breviori,
 quintus in *a* dabitur, post *es* tamen *e* reperitur.
a sextus, tamen *es* quandoque per *e* dare debes.
am recti repetes quinto, sextum sociando.
 Primo plurali decet *ae* quintoque locari.
 atque secundus habet *arum* nisi syncopa fiat.
 tertius aut sextus habet *is*, tamen excipiemus
 quando mas fit in *us*, in *a* femineum sine neutro.
 femineis *abus* sociabitur, ut *dominabus*,
 sexum discernens; istis *animas* superaddes.
 accusativis pluralibus *as* sociabis.
 versibus his nota fit declinatio prima.

The first declension takes *as, es*¹, *a* in the direct cases [*i.e.* the nominative and vocative cases, the other cases being termed "oblique"] and certain Hebrew proper nouns are formed by *am*². The first declension gives *ae* diphthong in the genitives and datives. The fourth [place] keeps *am*; yet we find *en* or *an* when the nominative is made in *es* or in *as*³, or when a Greek noun gives *a*. A Greek nominative in *a* causes *an* to be shortened in the fourth place⁴. The fifth place is

¹ *E.g.* Aeneas, Atrides.

² *E.g.* Adam, ae.

³ *E.g.* Aetes, en: Aeneas, am.

⁴ *E.g.* Electra, an.

given in *a*, yet *e* is found after *es*¹. The sixth place has *a*, yet sometimes you should give *es* by *e*². *Am* of the nominative³ you will seek again in the fifth place, [you will repeat] the sixth by associating it [with the nominative]. *Ae* should be placed in the first and fifth places in the plural, and the second [place] has *arum* except there be syncopation⁴. The third or sixth place has *is*, yet we make exception when the masculine ends in *us*, the feminine in *a* and there is no neuter⁵; *abus* is connected with feminine nouns when sex is to be distinguished, as *dominabus*; to these add *animas*⁶. You will associate *as* with accusative plurals. The first declension is made known by these verses.

Following the directions given in the foregoing verses, a table may thus be constructed:

	Singular	Plural
1. Nominative	<i>a</i> (<i>as</i> , <i>es</i> , <i>am</i>)	<i>ae</i>
2. Genitive	<i>ae</i>	<i>arum</i>
3. Dative	<i>ae</i>	<i>is</i> (<i>abus</i>)
4. Accusative	<i>am</i> (<i>en</i> , <i>an</i>)	<i>as</i>
5. Vocative	<i>a</i> (<i>es</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>am</i>)	<i>ae</i>
6. Ablative	<i>a</i> (<i>e</i>)	<i>is</i> (<i>abus</i>)

Contrast the simplicity of the usual table of the first declension as printed in grammar books to-day with the cumbrous directions of Alexander's verses, or the table which may be constructed with their help. The difference is entirely owing to the introduction by Alexander of words which, however frequently to be met in Latin books, are themselves not Latin at all.

The *Doctrinale* long retained an extraordinary vogue in Continental schools. It was amongst the books earliest printed; a few fragments now in the British Museum have been attributed with some hesitation to a Dutch press of 1460-5. But the fifteenth and early sixteenth century humanists condemned it and held it up to ridicule⁶. In the end it made way for the grammatical treatises of Jean Despautère (1510-14), which were also written

¹ E.g. *Perses*, *se*.

² E.g. *Perses*, *e* or *a*.

³ E.g. *Adam*, *ae*.

⁴ E.g. *amphora*, *amphorū*: *drachma*, *drachmum*.

⁵ E.g. *dominus*, *dominis*, *domina*, *dominabus*; *animus-is*, *anima-animabus*.

⁶ "I consider this should be done in the case of other authors, but especially in the case of Terence, by him who desires to speak clear Roman fashion and not half Latin, half French, as our schoolmasters, with their Alexander, for the most part teach." P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum* . . . *Erasmi*, vol. 1. p. 123, letter 31. The letter of Erasmus from which the above is translated appears to belong to the year 1489.

in Latin verse¹. Mr Leach notes, in a list of books possessed by Winchester College at a date anterior to 1426, "no less than three copies of the *Doctrinale*²." But Despautère never attained the standing in England which he reached abroad. Before the close of the fifteenth century a group of grammarians associated with the school of Magdalen College, Oxford, was independently engaged in improving the text-books of English schools.

¹ Cp. W. H. Woodward, *Education during the Renaissance*, pp. 148 f., 228.

² *History of Winchester College*, p. 162.

CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNING OF POPULAR INSTRUCTION

THE elementary school of to-day, the school which serves the vast majority of children below the age of fourteen, aims at supplying a type of education which is relatively complete. The brevity of the course, and the immature development of those who follow it, restrict its studies to the tools of learning, to the use of the vernacular language only, and to an instruction which is empirical rather than rational in character. Such studies can be utilized, if the student prolongs his education beyond the age of fourteen; but, within their own limits, they constitute (theoretically, at least) a systematic whole.

So understood, none of the schools hitherto described is an elementary school. The grammar schools of all kinds, as their name indicates, were chiefly interested in Latin and not in the vernacular; the old German term for them, Latin Schools, is even less ambiguous. Song schools and almonry schools taught boys to read Latin, an accomplishment which would of course be transferred to the mother-tongue also; but while such schools may be called "primary" or "preparatory," they were not the mediaeval equivalent of the elementary school as defined above. The parochial or canonical schools were in all probability more like the Sunday school than any other modern institution; and, like the Sunday school of to-day, the parochial school taught religion to girls as well as to boys.

That the need for purely elementary instruction of the vernacular sort was felt during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appears from such facts as the following. In 1367, the Archbishop forbade the continuance of unlicensed song schools kept by "chaplains, holy-water carriers¹ and many others of

¹ These were often poor students who held their office as a kind of "exhibition" or maintenance grant.

that kind" "in the parish churches, houses and other places within the said city of York¹." These schools can scarcely have fulfilled the purpose implied by their name; in the light of contemporary events, it is reasonable to describe them as schools which taught boys to read, if not to write. Under dates 1377, 1385, 1426, 1440, mention occurs of a combined grammar and song school at Northallerton. In the year last-named, the Prior of Durham (who appointed the master) charged Mr John Lewisham "to teach the boys in *reading*, song and grammar." The formula used in 1426 referred to reading and singing, whereas only song and grammar were named in 1385². Mr Leach notes a similar over-lap of grammar and song school at Warwick from 1409 to 1412 (*History of Warwick School*, p. 72). These records point to the attendance at grammar schools of children too young to have learned to read, a business considered to belong to the home rather than to the school; yet they were not choristers, the boys for whom song schools were primarily intended. They are early instances of the pupils who were known at a later date as "petties"; doubtless many left the school long before the completion of the regular course of instruction.

Were girls included amongst these pupils? In the roll of the Corpus Christi Gild of Boston, under the year 1404, occurs the name of Maria Mareflete, "*magistra scholarum*"³, a phrase which, by analogy with the technical name, "*magister scholarum*," may be rendered "schoolmistress," or, where more than one teacher is in question, "head mistress." Was this lady the head of an independent girls' school, or a teacher of girls, or of "petties," in the grammar school itself? The material for an answer is not forthcoming; but it may not be irrelevant to say that at Paris, in 1484, some girls at least were taught by a woman as boys were taught in the grammar schools by men. The evidence is brought forward by Ch. Jourdain⁴, who quotes a diploma granted by the Precentor of Notre Dame (the Paris Scolasticus) to Perrette la Couppenoire "to conduct the school of St Germain l'Auxerrois

¹ Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, vol. II. p. 22.

² Leach, *op. cit.*, vol. II. pp. 61 ff., 85.

³ *The Victoria County History: Lincoln*, vol. II. p. 451.

⁴ *Mémoires sur l'éducation des femmes au moyen âge* (1870), quoting from Claude Joly's *Factum*, etc., 1689. Joly was himself precentor of Notre Dame and scolasticus.

and to teach and instruct girls (*puellas*) in good manners, in grammatical letters (*litteris grammaticalibus*) and in other things lawful and honourable" for the space of one year.

Opportunities for instruction were not limited entirely to the recognized hierarchy of schools. Private enterprise on a very small scale seems to have undertaken the rudimentary teaching of children, particularly of girls; its exact nature is unknown, but in all probability it was more like "elementary" teaching than that of the contemporary school. Some of the slender evidence available is found in two letters of advice drawn up for the edification of English anchoresses, women recluses who lived, not in nunneries, but either alone, or with one or two others. There were many of these women throughout the country, even in remote places. At some time about the middle of the twelfth century, Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, wrote his *Book on the Hermit Life*, in which he counsels the sister whom he is addressing to keep no house-mates, save an old woman to act as companion and door-keeper, and a maid as domestic servant. He continues: "Do not allow boys and girls any access to you. Some anchoresses there are who turn their cell into a school¹." Aelred gives as his reason the usual monastic objection to admitting outsiders, namely that these hinder the devotional life. *The Ancren Riwele* (The Rule of Anchoresses) was, it is believed, written in the first half of the thirteenth century by Richard Poor (*d.* 1237), successively bishop of Chichester, Salisbury and Durham. The writer, amongst other domestic regulations, lays it down that an anchoress must not become a schoolmistress nor turn her anchoress' house into a school for children. Still, her maid may teach any little girl, of whom there may be doubt as to her learning among boys; but an anchoress ought to think of God alone².

The author of *The Ancren Riwele* certainly was familiar with Aelred's letter, or treatise, on the same subject. But the second of these two passages is no mere repetition of a common form; it is rather the statement of a concession to public opinion and to a partially established practice.

The repressive legislation directed against the Lollards in the early years of the fifteenth century has been treated as evidence

¹ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. xxxii. col. 1453.

² *The Ancren Riwele*, ed. J. Morton, 1853, pp. 422-3.

of the existence of "schools" conducted by those politico-religious revolutionaries. But the very enactment (7 and 8 Hen. IV, 1406) which is quoted to prove that Lollard men and women kept schools, in the ordinary sense of that term, makes it clear that the forbidden institutions were not schools for children, but "conventicles et lieux secretes appelez Escoles," that is, as the act explains, centres of propaganda against the doctrines and property of the Church.

The number of children in the mediaeval schools of all kinds, indeed the total number of children who learned to read, whether in school, or elsewhere, was smaller, perhaps very much smaller, than the entire child-population. To that extent the mediaeval schools were exclusive. But poverty was not a bar to admission, except in so far as it necessarily deprives of many opportunities, schooling included. The schools of the period under review served an intellectual rather than a social class; they were the fitting homes of boys endowed with the scholarly type of intelligence.

That poor boys of ability were afforded all the advantages which the schools could offer is matter of common knowledge; the career of many a great prelate or statesman of humble origin is sufficient evidence of the fact. Indeed the Lollard author of *Peres the Plowmans Crede*, writing in the last decade of the fourteenth century, complains that the children of the poor made their way to high estate through the school-doors.

Now may every cobbler set his son to school, and every beggar's brat learn from the book, and become either a writer and dwell with a lord, or a false friar to serve the Devil. So that the beggar's brat becomes a bishop, to sit esteemed among the peers of the land, and lords' sons bow down to the good-for-nothings, knights bend to them and crouch full low, and this bishop's father a shoemaker, soiled with grease and his teeth as tattered as a saw with champing leather!¹

It is true that a statute (12 Richard II, cap. v., *i.e.* 1388) then existed which directed that he or she who had served in agricultural labour till the age of twelve should henceforth abide at that labour, and not seek to learn "any mystery or handicraft." Less than twenty years later (1405-6) it was thought necessary to enact a still more severe statute (7 Henry IV, cap. xvii.) on the ground that the earlier act had been evaded. It was then

¹ Skeat, *Specimens of English Literature*, p. 11.

enacted that a parent who did not possess land, or rent, to the annual value of twenty shillings (as many pounds, or more, in modern money) must not apprentice his child in any city or borough, but must put him "to other labours as their estates do require upon pain of one year's imprisonment, and to make fine and ransom at the king's will." Yet even this drastic statute adds,

Provided always that every man and woman, of what estate or condition whatsoever, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any manner of school¹ that pleaseth them within the realm.

If all poor boys of scholarly ability secured admission to the schools, the fact would not constitute a system of elementary education as the phrase is now understood. The provision was expressly intended for what would to-day be called secondary education. Its character would not be altered, if it could be shown (what is in all probability true) that the majority of schoolboys, whatever their social position, did not fully complete the course, but abandoned it when they had learned, or partially learned, the rudiments only.

An educational provision of this sort might for a time suffice for an agricultural community organized on a feudal basis, as England was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But its deficiencies become evident and call insistently for remedy in an industrial or commercial society, which requires the services of a large number of persons in possession of an elementary knowledge of calculation, and able to read and write the vernacular.

It was not the business of the Church, nor of the schools associated with the Church, to give the instruction necessary for this purpose; and the schools first endowed and governed by guilds and town-councils were not elementary or vernacular schools. These last were originally the outcome of purely private enterprise, stimulated by the requirements of a busy town population. As those requirements grew, the municipal authorities took up the work and created a class of elementary school teachers.

The sequence of events is more easily followed in the commercial towns of mediaeval Italy and Germany than in contemporary

¹ In the original "law French" the phrase is, "d'apprendre lettereure," "to learn *letters*," in other words, "grammar," Latin. This is not *elementary* education.

England, which was chiefly agricultural till the close of the fourteenth century. In 1338 Florence was a great industrial, banking and commercial centre. Under that date Villani reports (*Cronica*, bk. xi. cp. 94) that, of a population of about 90,000, eight to ten thousand boys *and girls* learned to read and that in six schools ten or twelve hundred boys learned algorism and the abacus. He distinguishes this instruction from that in grammar and logic which were taught in four large schools of 550 to 600 pupils. In the great towns of Germany, instruction was given to children in reading and writing by scribes, wandering clerks and women, some of these last, like the English anchoresses, being "religious." References to these private teachers have been noted at Mainz before 1300, at Spire in 1362, and at Frankfurt in 1364¹.

Out of these sporadic beginnings was evolved the German "Reading and Writing School" taught by "German schoolmasters," teachers, that is, not of Latin, but of the mother-tongue. These true elementary schools of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were sometimes privately conducted, sometimes governed by town councils; their parallels were not wanting in England at a somewhat later date. As usual, their existence is recorded in consequence of litigation between their proprietors and the recognized authorities. For example the Lübeck scolasticus complained that he was deprived of income by the many writing schools which the Town Council had established. A long dispute was settled in 1418 by an agreement that there should be not more than four such schools in Lübeck, and that, while the Town Council should nominate the master, the Scolasticus should appoint him and receive one-third of the fees. The curriculum of these early municipal elementary schools may be gathered from the charge to the masters "to instruct children in writing and reading, and to teach them good manners, that they may receive reward from God therefor, and the city of Lübeck honour and worship from the world²."

Similar litigation at Brunswick in 1420 was closed by an agreement that the Town Council's schools should confine their teaching to "writing and reading the alphabet and German books

¹ C. Nohle, "Deutsches Knabenschulwesen," in Rein, *Encyclopädisches Handbuch*, etc., vol. II. pp. 47 ff.

² C. Nohle, in Rein's *Encyclopädisches Handbuch*, etc., vol. II. p. 48.

and letters¹”; it should be noted that the date is twenty years earlier than that assigned by tradition to the invention of printing and that therefore the books as well as the letters must have been in manuscript. Hamburg possessed such schools from the beginning of the fifteenth century; yet as late as 1477 its Town Council and Scolasticus were disputing over the right to maintain them².

In truth, the demand for elementary instruction in the vernacular which arose in great commercial centres like Lübeck and Hamburg was much too great to be met by the school provision of an earlier age. Notwithstanding the educational activity of the town councils, the private teachers continued to find employment. So late as 1522, the scolasticus of Hamburg complained that schools were set up “daily” by old women and other persons. Two most interesting relics of the brush of Hans Holbein help us to imagine these “schools” as they existed in the great commercial city of Basel in the year 1516. These are schoolmasters’ “sign boards”; one shows a master teaching two full-grown young men, the other exhibits a schoolroom interior, with the master teaching a boy grammar (as we learn from the presence of the birch, which was the conventional symbol of that study), a mistress teaching a girl either reading, or writing, and two boys seated apart, no doubt getting a lesson by rote. Some trifling differences excepted, the inscription, or advertisement, is the same in both pictures. It is erratic in syntax, punctuation and spelling, and may be Englished as follows:

If there be any one here who would be glad to learn to write and read German by the shortest conceivable way whereby any one can, who previously does not know a letter, he may shortly and quickly lay a foundation whereby he may learn of himself [*i.e.* may teach himself] what he ought to know of writing and reading. And if any one be so dull that he cannot learn it, I will have him taught for nothing and gratis, and will take no fee from him. Let him be who he will, citizen, journeymen-handworkers, ladies and young ladies, whoever needs it, he who comes in here will be faithfully taught for a reasonable fee. But young boys and girls [pay?] quarterly as is the custom. Anno 1516³.

The fifteenth century was a period of great industrial and commercial expansion in England. Whereas the country had

¹ A. Rude, *Die bedeutendsten evangelischen Schulordnungen des 16 Jahrhunderts*, Langensalza, 1893, p. 20.

² C. Nohle, *ut supra*.

³ These two paintings are in the Basel Museum.

previously been agricultural, and an exporter, chiefly in foreign ships, of raw material to be manufactured abroad, England in the course of that century became a centre of manufactures which she distributed in her own ships to all parts of Europe through the ports of the North Sea, Baltic and Mediterranean. Chief amongst her exports in the earlier time was wool, but at the close of this century England was sending abroad heavy consignments of woollen cloth, which effectually destroyed not only the monopoly but almost the very existence of the Flemish cloth-weavers. The woollen manufacture did not stand alone: silk-weaving, ship-building, coal and iron mining, the making of beer and of bricks were either adopted from abroad or were greatly developed at home. The large employer of labour appeared, and tended to displace the small master; the journeymen craftsmen of the guilds were faced by the rivalry of hired wage earners, whom the craft guilds were unwilling to admit to fellowship. The number of serfs employed upon the land correspondingly diminished. In short, the mediaeval feudal organization was being rapidly replaced by the system which then characterized the great industrial and commercial centres of Italy and Germany. The same fifteenth century is the period which saw the extinction of the old English nobility in the Wars of the Roses.

On the ground of analogy, we should expect that this new industrial and commercial society would develop a demand for the type of vernacular instruction which had arisen at an earlier date in the German Imperial cities. Is there any evidence which shows that such a demand arose in England and that it was met to an appreciable degree? It will be recalled that printing was invented between 1440 and 1455, but that it was not practised in this country before its introduction by Caxton in 1476.

Dr Furnivall printed, under the general title, *Early English Poems and Treatises on Manners and Meals in Olden Times*, a number of little works belonging to the fifteenth century, or from fifteenth-century MSS, most of which are not later than 1460. They are in English, most of them in verse to be learned by heart, and their frequent theme is table manners and the outward marks of good or prudent conduct generally. They are addressed to persons whose opportunities for direct imitation of "the manners of good society" would seem to be limited; not

all of them are intended for the edification of children alone; some embody a kind of proverbial philosophy for young men and women who desired to "get on" in life or to "stand well" with their neighbours. They assume the existence of readers outside the sphere of the ordinary fifteenth-century grammar school. The same may be said of the great majority of the 370 books which were printed in England during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, books which were plainly meant to meet a popular demand, or at least were addressed to a popular taste. Whereas foreign presses were busy with the production of classical works and works of learning, the English printer almost confined himself to the vernacular. The presses of Oxford and St Albans issued learned books, and law-books were printed in London, but all these got to work later than Caxton, who printed small pamphlets, translations from the French, verse, stories, courtesy-books and similar works intended to amuse or to give instruction of a practical, domestic sort. It was to be expected that a Westminster printer would produce service-books and devotional manuals; the former were costly books and Caxton printed but few of them¹.

The rapidity with which printing spread is good evidence of the existence of a large number of readers, since the mere presence of books does not of itself create the ability to use them. The cost of manuscripts has often been exaggerated; they were not all beautifully written, still less were they all costly works of art, glowing with gems, silver, gold and colour. The men and women who bought Caxton's books were not, we may be sure, ignorant of the art of reading. Perhaps one ought to say, the women especially, when the character of those books is remembered; we seem to be in the presence of a development like that which Stubbs was inclined to believe took place in the twelfth century amongst feminine society of a higher rank². But the point to note is that the English demand for printed books was for books in the mother-tongue and not in Latin, the language of the scholar and "educated person" in the conventional sense. Moreover, books were freely admitted into this country, notwith-

¹ On early English printing see E. Gordon Duff, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. II. chap. xiii.

² See p. 54 above.

standing the prohibitive duties which were levied upon manufactured goods in general.

The number of illiterates in the whole population was no doubt great; but the facts just adduced show that the art of reading was more widely diffused in England during the fifteenth century than later ages always recognized. In times antecedent to compulsory public instruction, the number of penmen was always less than the number of readers, and as much of their handiwork was ephemeral in value, evidence of its existence is not easy to come by. Even the collections of ancient correspondence and memoranda which have been printed do not take much account of the rough jottings made with the pen in the course of daily business. Yet evidence is not entirely wanting that the art of writing was so employed by persons whose education had been of a very modest kind.

The bills presented by artisans and mechanics in the early period of this inquiry would not be worth keeping. But for several years during the fifteenth century New College in Oxford preserved by some accident, filed and rolled up in a scrap of parchment, the tradesmen's bills which were presented and paid before the audit. They are rudely written, and are evidently the composition of persons who were not adept penmen; but they are evidence that artisans in the fifteenth century knew how to write out an account¹.

The Paston Letters (1422-1509) are the record of a somewhat litigious family surrounded by powerful and turbulent neighbours with whom the Pastons themselves were frequently in conflict. It is only to be expected, therefore, that the bulk of these letters are the work of persons familiar with the language and processes of the law; writings of small importance, or of mere passing interest, would not be preserved. Yet it is clear that many persons shared in this correspondence who were not of clerkly occupations and who had not received the recognized clerkly education; and the women writers compare very favourably with the unclerkly men. The spelling is usually of the phonetic kind adopted by persons who are not great readers, and who are indifferent to literary form and sometimes to the laws of grammar. Amongst the Paston documents there is a statement respecting an examination of twenty witnesses in reference to the will of Sir John Fastolf

¹ J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, vol. I. p. 165, and *Agriculture and Prices*, vol. IV. p. 502.

(1466). Of the twenty, eighteen are laymen of unclerklly occupations, six being described as literate, eleven as illiterate. Of the six, two were husbandmen (*agricultores*), theirs being the most unlettered class amongst these witnesses, contributing five of the eleven illiterates; two were merchants, one a mariner, one a tailor. The person of unspecified attainments, an old gentleman of seventy ("Stephen Scrope, *esquire*"), was probably literate, but the only other "gentleman" of the party is described as illiterate. The illiterates also include a mariner, a tailor, a smith, a cook and a "roper" of Yarmouth. Of the six literates, five are under forty years of age, while the eleven unlearned men are pretty evenly distributed between the ages of 23 and 58¹.

Incidentally, these Letters show how sound was the training given to women who were to be persons of affairs. The Paston ladies were frequently left in sole charge of the estate, bought and sold stock and produce, keenly asserted or contested legal claims, withstood the violence of lawless neighbours and, in general, discharged the duties of the landowner as well as those of head of a household and mother of children.

The surviving correspondence of the fifteenth century also exhibits the English of that day as a polite, not to say ceremonious people. The anonymous Venetian who wrote an account of England for his Government about the year 1500 says:

They all from time immemorial wear very fine clothes and are extremely polite in their language. . . . In addition to their civil speeches, they have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered, with an admirable grace, while they talk to each other. They are gifted with good understandings and are very quick at everything they apply their minds to; few however, excepting the clergy, are addicted to the study of letters; and this is the reason why any one who has learning, though he may be a layman, is called by them a clerk².

This Venetian was a rather credulous person; but the letters corroborate this part of his testimony. Here, in illustration, is the opening of a letter (1459) from a married daughter to her mother, the redoubtable Agnes Paston.

¹ *The Paston Letters*, ed. Jas. Gairdner, 4 vols, 1900. See vol. II. p. 272; cp. vol. III. pp. 443-4, vol. I. p. 419.

² *A Relation . . . of the Island of England*, etc., p. 22 (Camden Society, 1847).

Right worshipfull and my most entierly belovde moder, in the most louly maner I recomaund me unto your gode moderhode, besekeyng you dayly and nyghtly of your moderly blissing, evermore desyryng to her [*i.e.* hear] of your welfare and prosperite, the which I pray God to contynw and encresce to your herts desyre. And yf it lyked your gode moderhode to here of me and how I do, at the makying of this lettre I was in gode hele of body tanked be Jesu.

The letter is a purely business one; it is subscribed "by your humble doughter." The same courteous formality appears in the family and business correspondence of the Celys, woolmerchants of London and Calais¹. The spelling of the following (Richard Cely to his brother George, 1479) may be instructively compared with that of the Paston letter above.

Whelbelouyd brother I recomend me harttely un to yow Desyryng to heyr of your whelfar and good heyll & informyng you at the makying of thys our father and mother wher and whe aull wher in good heyll thankyd be God Syr owre father commaunddyd me to wryte and in forme you that Pelyp Sellar ys dysseasyd and has not payd owr father no peny of his Dwete¹.

In 1476 John Paston recommended Richard Stratton, formerly "purveyor," or house steward in a family, to the notice of Lord Hastings, lieutenant of Calais, in the hope that the latter would employ Stratton as clerk of the kitchen. The following were Stratton's qualifications:

Thys man is meane of stature (*i.e.* of average height), yonge inough, well wittyd, well manerd, a goodly yong man on horse and foote. He is well spokyn in Inglyshe, metly well in Frenshe, and verry perfite in Flemyshe. He can wright and reed².

Where did these men and women, who read and wrote English, get the necessary instruction, seeing that the vernacular was not part of the recognized grammar-school instruction? Mention has already been made of the opportunities for elementary instruction which were furnished by private enterprise. But the increased wealth and the larger demand for such instruction which marked the fifteenth century led in turn to a great increase in the supply of a kind of teaching which had long been accessible on a less extended scale.

¹ H. S. Malden, *The Cely Papers* 1475-1488, p. 22.

² *Paston Letters*, vol. III. p. 155.

The form of school in question owed its origin to the religious sentiment which centres about the dead. It appears to be uncertain at what date endowments began to be instituted with the object of securing in perpetuity the recitation of the Mass, in association with the names of the founder, of his friends and of all Christian souls. Chantries, as they were called, certainly existed in England in the twelfth century; and their number went on increasing right up to the confiscation of their revenues and their suppression as erroneous and superstitious in 1547. The addition to their number in the comparatively wealthy fifteenth century was great.

Chantries were founded by individuals and by societies or, in mediaeval language, "gilds." The later and particular use of this word has obscured its general meaning. Gilds were simply voluntary societies, having for their aim a variety of public purposes, especially those of a charitable kind. As was natural in mediaeval institutions, their basis was a religious one. A gild might charge itself with the care of the poor, the making and repair of roads, bridges, piers and harbours, or it might in effect be a voluntary association of all the members of the community, having as its aim the better government of the town, or the securing of privileges or freedom from exaction. Thus the townsmen might be banded together in a gild against their feudal lord; a gild merchant and a craft gild were commercial and industrial societies intended to secure privilege and, if possible, monopoly in trade and manufacture. But all gilds were also religious societies, much of their corporate life being expressed in common worship; part of their funds was devoted to providing church-services for the gild as a whole, for the burial of members and the commemoration of the departed. Some gilds maintained a "morrow mass priest," who celebrated the Eucharist as early as 4 a.m., in order that working men and women might attend the service before going to work.

In the nature of the case, chantry priests, as such, had a good many free hours during the day; and they were all competent in some degree to teach. Gilds and individual founders established hospitals, or "*maisons Dieu*," for the aged, infirm and sick poor; where orphans formed part of the hospital community, some sort of instruction was essential. The custom grew up of entrusting such teaching to the persons most obviously fitted for it; this

custom next became part of the recognized order of things, so that the chantry or morrow mass priest and the hospital chaplain were charged with the duty of keeping school as an integral part of their benefices. Instances have been furnished abundantly in Mr Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation*.

The chantry and hospital schools were ostensibly concerned with grammar; but stress of circumstances must sometimes have defeated the intention, and left the teacher no alternative but to teach the vernacular. Sometimes it was only rudimentary instruction which was demanded; sometimes the teacher could give no other. The Staffordshire chantry certificate (Edward VI) says of the chantry at Shenstone that "the incumbent is bound by the foundation to teach young children grammar, or otherwise according to his knowledge." The point is illustrated in the Montgomery certificate, where the Commissioners report that the priest only taught "young beginners to write and sing, and to *read* so far as the accidence rules, and no grammar¹." Mr Leach's researches also reveal another ecclesiastical source of elementary instruction. The Falmouth certificate states that "John Pound, bellringer there . . . hath for his salary 40s., as well for teaching poor men's children their A.B.C., as for ringing the bells²." At Launceston,

Stephen Gouge, incumbent and schoolmaster there . . . a man well learned, meet for the education of youth in the Latin tongue, hath for his salary and living of the mayor and burgesses yearly £6, over and besides a pension out of the possessions of the late monastery of Launceston, which is yearly £10; and 13s. 4d. yearly distributed to an aged man chosen by the mayor to teach young children the A.B.C.³

Of these two *municipal* servants, the professional schoolmaster receives six pounds (say £90 or £100 in modern money), while the man "past work" gets but a mark; the difference is that between a stipend and a mere gratuity.

But these instances belong to the sixteenth century; and in any case, they do not constitute a deliberate intention to establish elementary schools.

¹ Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 206 and 312.

² Leach, *op. cit.*, Pt. II. p. 31.

³ Leach, *op. cit.*, Pt. II. p. 34.

A closer approach to a separate provision of true elementary schooling was made by two Yorkshire foundations of the fifteenth century¹, foundations which show clearly that an instruction in the "three R's" based upon the mother-tongue had become a recognized need. Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells from 1466 to 1491 (in which year he died), founded Acaster College at some time between 1466 and 1483. An Act of Parliament of the latter year recites that the bishop established there

three dyvers Maisters and Informatours in the facultees under written; that is to witt, oon of theym to teche Grammer, another to teche Musyk and Song, and the *third to teche to Write and all such thinge as belonged to Scrivener Craft* to all maner of persons of whatsoever Cuntre they be within the Reame of Englund, desiryng to be informed in the seid iij facultees, or in any of theym, and for that cause coming thedyr, all the seid iij Masters and Informatours to teche the seid iij faculties severally, openly and freely without exaction of money, or other thyngs of any of their such Scholers and Disciples.

Even more pointed is the reference to elementary teaching in the statutes of Jesus College, Rotherham, founded in 1483, by the Archbishop of York, Thomas Rotherham, in thankful remembrance of his debt to God and to an unnamed "man learned in grammar," who gave him his earliest instruction. Jesus College consisted by statute of three separately endowed schools (grammar, song, and writing) each with its own master. The writing master was to receive a salary of eight marks and no more; the sum may be put at £80 of our money. No one of the three teachers was permitted to exact fees for his instruction. The writing master was to be "knowing and skilled in the art of writing and reckoning," and he was appointed to teach those youths of capacity who were more fitted for mechanical arts and the affairs of this world than for the priesthood.

Jesus College also provided a home for chantry priests more in accord with their office than the casual lodgings in which, the founder said, they gave themselves to ease and sloth. The College came under the operation of the Chantry Act and in 1548 the grammar school was continued, but the song and writing masters were pensioned and their schools closed.

¹ See Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, vol. II. p. 89, and *Educational Charters*, p. 424.

A review of the facts, while it may not justify the assertion that reading and writing were everywhere common among the people, yet makes it no matter for surprise that persons of divers ranks shared in the Paston correspondence, or that the art of printing was so rapidly taken advantage of from the day of its introduction. The fifteenth century was a long way off from the idea of compulsory, universal instruction, whose utility most men of that day would have failed to see; but, on the other hand, the same men did not think of education as a process confined to schoolrooms, or as something which was inseparable from reading and writing. Nevertheless, those arts were appreciated and much was done to diffuse their practice; and the pressure exerted by the shop and the counting-house resulted in establishing a new sort of instruction.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVIVAL OF CLASSICAL LEARNING

THE life and work of Petrarch (1304-1374) are commonly accepted as representative of the transition from the mediaeval to the modern stage in the history of culture. But the passage was in truth not an abrupt one. Before the triumph of Paris and scholastic learning in the twelfth century, Chartres and other French cathedral schools had given promise of a literary revival comparable in many ways with that of the fifteenth century. Dante (1265-1321), who concentrated in his own person so much of the mediaeval spirit, nevertheless greets Virgil as "my master," "my author," "who seemed hoarse from long silence¹," a description which hints at a more intimate, sympathetic study of his author by Dante himself, rather than at complete ignorance in Dante's predecessors. As already said, the rhetorical education and the consequent study of classical writers never died out entirely; its persistence side by side with the Christian education was due in part to the retention of Latin as the language of the Church and of learning, in part also to the inherent nature of the ancient literature as an expression of the human spirit. But, whereas in lands outside the frontiers of Imperial Rome and in some, perhaps most, countries within them, the ancient discipline was a thing imported, in Italy it was the survival of a native growth. As the power of Scholasticism waned, men's minds turned with zest to the ancient literature, especially to the Greek writers; and circumstances conspired to make the return easier and more rapid with the dawn of the fifteenth century. That century was a time of enormous commercial and industrial expansion in England; but in Italy the wealth which had been acquired by commerce in earlier days was then being expended lavishly upon the encouragement of Latin and

¹ *Inferno*, I. 63; see also 85.

Greek scholarship, upon the acquisition of manuscripts and sculptures, the foundation of libraries and museums, and the institution of schools and professorships designed to employ *litterae humaniores* as instruments of a new type of education. The classical revival was deeply indebted to the splendid court of the Medici at Florence, to native Florentine artists and scholars, and to those who were attracted to Florence by the Medicean patronage, particularly the Greeks. But Florence was not only a wealthy commercial and industrial centre; it was also a city of great political activity, even of embittered faction, in which large numbers of its citizens were involved. It was consequently a place where the old rhetorical training would be appreciated as a process obviously applicable to daily life.

The arrival of Emanuel Chrysoloras (*d.* 1415) at Florence in 1397 marks the beginning of that revival of Greek studies which, first in Italy and later north of the Alps, in due course entirely changed the character of European culture. Chrysoloras was known to his contemporaries as a great scholar, and a most capable and lovable man; he left a long-abiding mark upon schools and colleges in his *Erotemata*, or Interrogatory, an elementary manual of the Greek accidence in Greek. This book follows the plan of the Latin Donat, the catechetical form being only slightly maintained and the few questions serving as "cross headings" to the sections. The earliest *printed* copies known belong to the last quarter of the fifteenth century; in these, the text runs right on, without appealing to the visual memory by means of tables or other similar devices. More than half the book is devoted to the verbs, of which thirteen conjugations are distinguished, six on the pattern of *τύπτω*, three on that of *γελῶ* and four like *τίθημι*. The familiar *μοῦσα* and *τιμή* appear in the second of the five declensions, the first declension being that of masculine nouns in *-ας* and *-ης*.

Guarino of Verona (1374-1460), friend and pupil of Chrysoloras, added a Latin version to the original Greek; in this combined form the *Erotemata* long remained a standard manual. Linacre used it at Oxford and Erasmus brought it to Cambridge¹. Theodore Gaza, who taught Greek in Vittorino's school at Mantua, wrote (1445?) a *γραμματικὴ εἰσαγωγή* (Grammatical Introduction)

¹ J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. II. p. 21.

which became the authoritative syntax of ancient Greek¹. The debt which the French and English scholars of the sixteenth century owed to these two text-books is beyond calculation.

The great movement called the Revival of Learning was many-sided, and conspicuous as is its place in the history of schools and universities, its educational associations are not its greatest claim to remembrance. It is easy, therefore, to exaggerate and even to misrepresent the part played by individual men or books in the great advance which European culture made during the fifteenth and following centuries. But, confining attention to the educational institutions of that period, it may be safely said that their aims and methods were very largely determined by two books, the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian (c. 35-95 A.D.) and the "περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς" ("On the guidance, or education, of children") which was ascribed to Plutarch (died c. 125 A.D.).

The master-theme of the short treatise, "On the guidance of children," is the moral life, virtue being regarded as the best of all earthly goods, and education as the means of its attainment. The perfectly happy men are those who can combine service to the State with the individual pursuit of philosophy. In the training of children and of youths, morals, manners, fair and courteous speech are of the first importance. Bodily exercise, especially of the military kind, must not be omitted; when practised in youth, it ensures a hale and tranquil old age. The recognized subjects of a general education² should be known cursorily to the free-born youth, but the chief of all studies is philosophy. Speaking generally, by the last term the writer of the treatise means ethics and that legal conception of religion which characterized the Roman State and its subjects. Man is distinguished from all other animals by the attributes of intellect and speech, the latter being the minister of the former. Books are the instruments of culture, since in them science is preserved; the writings of the ancients are therefore to be held in no small esteem. Beyond generalities of this kind, the treatise says little concerning studies in the ordinary sense.

¹ Sandys, *op. cit.*, vol. II. p. 62.

² "τὰ ἐγκύκλια παιδεύματα," the studies which in Greek education preceded professional training.

The underlying ideal of education differs greatly, both in aim and process, from that which in the fifteenth century had inspired the Christian community for nearly a millennium. This revived ideal finds small place for theological or any other kind of learning, and no place for scholastic speculation. It insists upon the claim of the body to development for the body's sake; it puts forward as instruments of instruction those "ancient writings" which long had been objects of distrust in the minds of many Christian teachers. Above all, it has no thought for a life beyond the grave, but concentrates itself upon the present; its sanction is not divine authority but human reason and experience.

The teaching of this treatise became accessible to Western Christendom in the Latin translation (1411) of Guarino, whence it found its way into later writing on the subject. There are portions of it and of Quintilian's work in the *De liberorum educatione* (1450) of Aeneas Sylvius. Sir Thomas Elyot's *The education or bringinge up of children, translated oute of Plutarche* appeared before 1540. An English version is embedded in John Lyly's *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* under the title "Euphues and his Euphobus" (1579). The treatise was included by Philemon Holland in his English translations from Plutarch (1603). Montaigne repeats its insistence on the need for a discipline of the understanding and of conduct; it anticipates Locke in suggesting praise and blame as the best substitutes for chastisement, and Rousseau in prescribing the proper care of the new-born child. Amongst the writers who succeeded Guarino it became common form to repeat, after the *περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*, that mothers should "nurse" their children, that parents were habitually careless in selecting tutors, that gentleness, not stripes, should be the instrument of discipline, and that the parents' example was more effective than any precept. So, too, the necessity for exercising and training "the Memory" ("the treasury of science") was insisted upon, though of a truth the fifteenth had little to learn from the first century in that respect.

The *περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς* was written for the person of leisure and of wealth, who was in a position to superintend his children's up-bringing. It therefore furnished material for those who would reform the school on the lines of home education. But the

professional educators and others who were interested in a more general instruction turned for counsel to the much more influential *Institutio Oratoria* ("Rhetorical Education") of Quintilian.

This work, the classic authority on the higher education of Rome during the early Empire, was known imperfectly throughout the mediaeval period; amongst its students were Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Bernard of Chartres and John of Salisbury. But it secured a much more widely extended attention owing to the discovery of a manuscript of the complete text at St Gall by Italian scholars in 1416¹. Quintilian was a Spaniard who attained a great reputation as an advocate and a teacher of rhetoric at Rome, where he is said to have been the first State-endowed professor of that art; Tacitus and the younger Pliny were his pupils. The "Rhetorical Education" goes far beyond its title. In its pages the perfect orator is regarded as the ideal civilized man; the book is a treatise on education in general, as well as a guide to successful oratory and a treasury of information for the grammarian and philologist. The new spirit which was abroad in the fifteenth century at once accorded to it the pre-eminence which it had occupied thirteen centuries earlier.

Quintilian quotes with approval the saying of Cato that the good orator is the good man skilled in speaking; and the goodness is of more moment than the skill. "No man unless he be good can be an orator," for the vicious man is a fool².

A mind intent on so great a business should be free from other purposes, even though they be blameless . . . for only when it is free and undivided, nothing distracting it or leading it astray, will it alone be fixed upon that to which it is addressed³.

Money-getting, sport, the public spectacles and, still more, passionate desire, avarice and envy must be avoided, since by them study is disturbed⁴; but, "the love of praise especially stimulates [the good] to the pursuit of literature⁵."

We are educating a man who will bring to human affairs a mind eminent by natural endowment and, in particular, embracing the fairest qualities within its folds, a man such as no previous age has known,

¹ J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. II. p. 26.

² Bk. XII. chap. i. 1, 3.

³ *ibid.*, 5.

⁴ *ibid.*, 6.

⁵ *ibid.*, 8.

sole and perfect on every side, thinking the best thoughts and expressing them in the best language¹.

The man whom I educate I desire to be a sage of the Roman mould, one who will show forth the truly urbane man, not in private controversy, but in the deeds and in the actual conduct of affairs².

The true sphere for such a man is the senate or the battle-field, where other men are to be ruled or instructed, fortified or inspired³.

The orator must not only teach his hearers, he must likewise move and delight them⁴. Morality must before all else be carefully studied by the orator, and every mode of the honourable and of the just must be investigated, without which nobody can be a good man or a skilful speaker⁵.

The works of the great philosophers should be read; but the *active* life of the orator is entirely foreign to that of the philosopher⁶. Quintilian is persuaded that the philosopher and logician are ineffective men of business⁷. On the other hand, the morality of the *Institutio* sometimes savours more of the forensic pleader than the moralist would approve.

The keen, capable man of action, familiar with the senate and the forum, whom Quintilian describes is, however, not one who believes that it is enough to consider "the latest age and the actual day." He must "know and ever be revolving in his mind the sayings and doings famed from old times, which surely are nowhere more numerous or grander than in the memorials of the Roman State⁸." To this regard for history, he must add the study of civil law, and of poetry, that he may be apt at quotation. In spite of Quintilian's protest that it is no mere speaker that he desires to form, it is from the standpoint of the orator that he views literature. The first chapter of the tenth book in effect advises the student to traverse the whole range of Greek and Latin letters. But it is always with an eye to the conditions of the law court. Of literature, as such, little account is made.

The parts of the *Institutio Oratoria* of a more general interest are the first and second books, which deal with the education of children, and the twelfth, which draws a picture of the

¹ *Instit. Orat.* Bk. XII. cp. i. 25.

² *Ibid.*, cp. ii. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, cp. i. 26-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cp. ii. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 10 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, bk. XII. ii. 29.

completed scheme. The other and more technical parts abound in lessons for the modern teacher of rhetoric and of "composition." From the earlier books were culled principles which became the commonplaces of the educational essayist, if not of the practising schoolmaster. For example: the child's most conspicuous faculty is "the memory," which therefore should be exercised and strengthened; play is a natural mode of educating little children; learners should be stimulated by rivalry and led on by the hope of reward; school education, with its admitted drawbacks, is superior to that conducted by a domestic tutor. The over-estimation in which Quintilian held the merely docile mind is a foible not peculiar to himself or to his sixteenth-century following. He approved of the use of "copy-book maxims" as models for hand-writing, an art which he would have begun, *à la* Montessori, by tracing the shapes of letters in a grooved board. The schoolmasters who taught their pupils Latin, while they ignored the mother-tongue, received a half-hearted support in the *Institutio*, where it is recommended that children should learn Greek colloquially before beginning the systematic study of Latin, their vernacular.

Cicero's eminence as an orator naturally gave a position of authority to everything which he wrote concerning rhetoric; the point is exemplified by the continued vogue of a youthful and incomplete treatise of his, the *De Inventione*, which was a text-book at Chartres in the twelfth century and the object of special recommendation by Locke in the seventeenth¹. In Quintilian's day, the prose of Cicero was regarded as the very model of Latinity; and, agreeably to the practice of rhetorical teachers in all ages, it was deliberately proposed to pupils for their imitation. Carried away by enthusiasm, many sixteenth-century scholars, in spite of weighty protests, turned what might have been a useful exercise into a fantastic cult, which in the end became an obstacle to progress in education. Opinions for and against "Ciceronianism" are to be found in the *Institutio Oratoria*; but Quintilian shows a leaning towards common sense in this matter which was not at all common amongst the worshippers of Cicero.

¹ *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, sec. 189.

Not without justice was it said by Cicero's contemporaries that he was king in the law courts; and in later days he has attained such a position that "Cicero" is now not considered the name of a man, but is held to be synonymous with eloquence itself. To him therefore let us look, let him be proposed as our example; let a man know that he has made progress when he takes great pleasure in Cicero¹.

Imitation of a pattern so finished is essential; but "it is even unseemly to be content with following your model²."

I should not therefore persuade anybody to addict himself entirely to one writer, whom he would follow in everything. . . . What then, is it not enough to speak on all things as Cicero spoke? To me personally it would suffice, if I could equal him in every thing. But what is the harm of assuming in certain passages [of a speech] the force of Caesar, the roughness of Caelius, the earnestness of Pollio, the discernment of Calvus³?

The second chapter of the tenth book, from which this passage comes, deserves the careful attention of the student of sixteenth-century education, in which the doctrine of imitation secured an unfortunate predominance.

The present work does not pretend to trace the development of educational practice during the period when Greek or Roman civilization was most active. But it may be remarked in passing that the purposes which Quintilian had in view and the manner by which he thought to attain them, namely by an appropriate training in rhetoric, are in substance the purposes and method of Isocrates, who taught rhetoric at Athens in the fourth century before the Christian era.

Influential as were the two treatises of Quintilian and "Plutarch," it is not to be supposed that they alone determined the advance of the classical revival in the schools. The volume of that advance was the result of the new outlook on life which came from a broader and deeper understanding of the ancient civilizations. But Quintilian and "Plutarch" certainly inspired, and the former frequently directed, those who gave children and youths the earliest introduction to the ancient literatures; and the consequence was that, in the actual machinery of instruction, the formal parts of the rhetorical training outweighed the

¹ *Op. cit.*, Bk. x. cp. i. 112.

² *Ibid.*, cp. ii. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, x. cp. ii. 24-5.

more strictly literary culture, which Quintilian and Plutarch had both in some degree advocated. In this fact lies the great significance of the subsequent dispute over Ciceronianism and the doctrine of imitation¹.

The invention of printing in the mid-fifteenth century greatly accelerated the advance of the new studies, and continental presses were busily employed in producing editions of classical authors and works of learning based upon them. Eight European countries preceded England in employing the printing-press, "and at no less than seventy towns were printers at work before Caxton started at Westminster²" (1476). The economic conditions which had given birth to a utilitarian type of elementary instruction in fifteenth-century England appear to have retarded the advance of that humanism which was working great changes on both sides of the Alps. The Venetian criticism already quoted ("priests excepted, very few attend to the pursuit of letters") reflects broadly the relative positions of Italy and England in, or about, 1500. Englishmen seem to have been too busy getting rich to have had time or opportunity for the new culture. But although there can be no just comparison between the continental and the English scholarship of that date, England was not entirely without premonitions of the approaching change.

An understanding of the new movement was ensured by the presence of a number of English students at Italian seats of learning, in particular at Padua, Ferrara, Florence and Bologna. One of the earliest of these was the accomplished Latinist known during the Wars of the Roses as the "Butcher," John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who heard Argyropulos teach Greek at Florence about the period 1456-1460. Tiptoft, who had been educated at Balliol College, was a friend of the Benedictine monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, a community which showed great interest in the revived study of Greek. William Selling and William Hadley, monks of that house, were sent in 1464 by their Prior to study in Italy, where they remained three years, visiting amongst other places Bologna, where Selling³ took the degree

¹ On the relation of the two treatises to the classical revival, see W. H. S. Jones, "Quintilian, Plutarch and the Early Humanists" in *The Classical Review*, March, 1907.

² E. Gordon Duff, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. II. p. 310.

³ Alias Celling, or William Tilley of Selling (1430-1494).

of doctor of theology. Selling was in Italy on two subsequent occasions, once on convent business (he was made Prior of Christ Church after his return) and again as ambassador to Rome (1486). He used his opportunities not only for study, but also for the collection of manuscripts. His library was almost entirely destroyed by fire (1539) when the commissioner of Henry VIII was making his official visit, just prior to the dissolution of the monasteries. Thomas Linacre (1460?-1524) was a boy in the monastery school of Christ Church, and in all probability continued his studies at Canterbury College, Oxford, an academic offshoot of Christ Church, Canterbury; in any case, he was a Fellow of All Souls in 1484. When Prior Selling went as ambassador to Rome, in 1486, he took Linacre in his train, leaving him at Bologna¹. In 1488, Linacre persuaded an Oxford friend, William Grocyn (1446?-1519), to join him there; they appear to have remained in Italy until 1490 or 1491, the great humanist, Politian, and the Greek, Chalcondyles, being amongst their teachers at Florence. Erasmus says that Grocyn learned Greek in England; he was at Winchester College before 1465, in which year he passed on to the sister foundation of New College, Oxford. Greek was being taught at the latter college by an Italian between 1470 and 1475. In 1491, Grocyn and Linacre were teaching Greek in Oxford, and the new learning had taken root in England.

William of Waynflete, who had been master of Winchester (1428-1442) and who was the first master of Eton College (1442), on his preferment to the see of Winchester (1447) founded Magdalen Hall, Oxford (1448), which ten years later became Magdalen College. In order to ensure a sound base for the studies of the society, Waynflete included in his foundation a Free Grammar School for thirty boys under a master and an usher, these latter receiving the customary stipends of ten pounds and five pounds respectively, with board and lodging. The school was expressly intended to teach "grammar, poems and other arts of *humanitas*," and two or three at least of the thirty "*demies*" were to co-operate in the instruction of the remainder². A series

¹ On the connexion of Christ Church, Canterbury, with the revival of Greek, see F. A. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible*, pp. 305 ff.; J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. II. pp. 223 ff.

² For these and other particulars, see J. R. Bloxam, *A Register of the ... members of St Mary Magdalen College, etc.*, vol. III.

of widely circulated text-books by the teachers and pupils of Magdalen College School was influential in greatly improving the teaching of grammar in English schools generally.

The master whose name is first recorded is John Anwykyll of New College; he was presiding over the school in 1483 and on his death in 1487 was succeeded by the usher, John Stanbridge, a Wykehamist also. Anwykyll, like other fifteenth-century school-masters, was a married man¹ and therefore a layman, in the modern sense. To accommodate his family, Anwykyll was permitted to live out of College, and this and other privileges were granted him "in consideration of the many vigils and labours which the same Master John has endured in respect of a new and very advantageous (*perutilis*) form of teaching conceived and prescribed by him for the school."

What precisely this "new and very advantageous" plan was, we do not know; but that it was much valued by the authorities is clear from their requiring him to train fit pupils to teach it in their turn. No doubt the bibliographers are right in identifying Anwykyll with the "John" who, at the instance of William, bishop of Winchester, wrote in Latin verse the "compendium of all Grammar carefully collected out of various authors" which appeared at Deventer in 1489². But in point of method there is no great novelty in this work. In form and intention it is very like the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei; in substance, it is partly an abridgment of the *Rudimenta grammatices* (1468), the earliest of modern Latin grammars, which was written by Niccolò Perotti, a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre. "John" also names as one of his sources the great critic and scholar, Laurentius Valla (1407-1457). A catechetical manual in Latin verse which treated of the four parts of grammar (the letter, the syllable, the word and the sentence) in that order could not claim any great originality in the fifteenth century. But the title of this manual of *grammar* (in the modern sense) should be noted; it discards the ancient meaning which was co-extensive with the

¹ Mr Leach notes a married master at the Almonry School, Westminster, as early as 1425-6, and he has found others in Yorkshire under the dates 1426-57, 1465, 1472 and 1495.

² *Compendium totius grammatices*, etc. An Oxford edition of 1483 is registered.

Latin language and literature, and adopts the signification, rudiments of the Latin language. This latter restricted sense was finally established in the sixteenth century. Although Wolsey, as late as 1529, rightly describes what is now called a "grammar" as "the rudiments of Grammar" (*rudimenta grammatices*), yet Henry VIII in his proclamation of 1542 styles the text-book, which he then imposed upon schools "the Latin Grammar," thus finally terminating an association between word and thing, which had descended through the mediaeval schools from Roman times¹.

We are probably nearer Anwykyll's "new and very advantageous form of teaching" when we examine the manuals written by his immediate successors at Magdalen College School, in particular those of Stanbridge and Holt; but the earliest available copies are of a date no earlier than 1520, some quarter of a century after these men were teaching in the school. Remembering the wear and tear suffered by a school-book, it is remarkable that even these copies survive.

The reform of the teaching of Latin grammar, which improved the English schools of the sixteenth century, may be clearly traced to the labours of John Stanbridge (1463-1510), master of Magdalen College School from 1488 to 1494. Stanbridge settled at Banbury in 1501 as Master of St John's Hospital; and long after his death "the use, manner and form of Banbury School" meant that arrangement of the *accidence* which Stanbridge had made authoritative. Robert Whitinton and William Lily, pupils of Stanbridge at Magdalen, were both famous for their school grammars, that of the latter remaining the standard text-book for more than three centuries.

The outstanding features of Stanbridge's school-books are brevity, the employment of simple English in the formulation of rules and directions, and some attempt to help memorizing and there is reason to believe that these constitute the essence of Anwykyll's method. The *Accidence* of Stanbridge is in English throughout, occasional mnemonics of four or six lines in Latin hexameters excepted. It is a catechism which reviews the eight parts of speech in turn and adds the rudimentary syntax of the

¹ Cp. some remarks on this head by Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, pp. 262, 264ff.

three concords. There is an approach to the helpful tabular form, so familiar at the present day, in the manner in which the conjugations are printed. For example, each tense of the four regular conjugations is given in the form here taken by the present indicative¹.

Amo/as/at	I love		Amamus/atis/ant
Doceo/ces/cet	I teche		Docemus/cetis/cent
Lego/gis/git	I rede	In pluri.	Legimus/gitis/gunt
Audio/is/it	I here		Audimus/ditis/diunt

The *Parvulorum Institutio* is a short catechism in English setting forth directions for writing plain prose in Latin. Its opening words describe a practice still familiar.

What is to be done whan an englysshe is gyven to be made in latyn? Fyrst the verbe must be lokyd out & If there be moo [more] verbes than one in a reason [sentence] I must loke out the pryncypall verbe and aske the questyon, Who or what, and that worde that answereth to the questyon shalbe the nominative case to the verbe, except it be a verbe impersonall, the which will have no nominatyve case².

Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* is a phrase-book, English and Latin, helpful for every-day talk in the latter language; his *Vocabula* is merely a collection of words and "glosses" arranged under such headings as parts of the body, etc., the kind of book which had been in use from pre-Conquest days in England. One sentence in the *Vulgaria* may be noted: "I was set to scole when I was seven yere olde."

From the schoolmaster's point of view, the book which is most significant of Anwykyll's reform in teaching is John Holt's *Lac puerorum M. Holti, Mylke for children*. Holt was usher of Magdalen College School in 1494 (and perhaps earlier) and left in 1495. Anthony Wood says that he was "zealous" in "the profession of pedagogy" and that his *Lac puerorum*, published about 1497, was "much used³"; the book was certainly not

¹ Stanbridge, *Accidence*, printed by Rychard Pynson, 1520(?).

² The *Accidentia ex stanbrigiana editione* of Robert Whitinton, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1528-9. The *Vulgaria* and *Vocabula* are bound with the Br. Mus. copy.

³ *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 7, ed. 1721.

written earlier than 1493 and probably between that year and 1495. The two surviving copies are dated 1510 (de Worde, printer) and 1520? (Pynson, printer); the following notes are based upon the latter.

The *Lac puerorum* contains about 80 pages of small quarto size; its three parts present respectively the accidence, definitions of grammatical terms, the three concords (subject with its verb, adjective and noun, relative and antecedent) and similar grammatical usages. It is definitely described as a Latin primer or "English first gate to grammar"; written in English, it directs the pupil to that language in order to clarify his notions respecting grammar generally.

All adjectyves that betoken thynges that may be made more or less, may receyue comparison, as fayre, more fayre, lesse fayre, moost fayre, leest fayre, or ellys, fayre, fayrer, fayrest. Synes of tenses be these, do, dyde, have, hadde, wyll and shall.

The moods of the verb are introduced as the shewing, the asking, the bidding, the wishing moods, the more technical names coming later; but no periphrasis is attempted for "potencyall," "sub-junctyf" or "infinityf."

As a practical teacher, Holt knew the power of the visual or "space" memory, and his device for utilizing it gives something very like the tabulation of conjugations and declensions with which we are familiar to-day. An open hand, displaying the palm, exhibits in full the declension of the "artycles," *hic, hec hoc*. The thumb bears the nominative case, the three singulars on the upper joint, the three plurals on the lower; the ablatives lie on the ball of the thumb; the next finger carries the genitives, "huius" on the upper joint, the three plurals on the middle joint, and the name "genytyf" on the lowest joint. Similarly, the remaining fingers bear the dative, accusative and vocative cases. Another hand in a very similar fashion shows the complete declension of the words "*hic magister*." The words in both figures are printed in vertical columns upon the fingers, an arrangement which would easily suggest the tabular form now universal. Long before Holt's time it had been customary to associate with the joints of the several fingers, for purposes of retention and easy recall, such phrases and passages of religious

instruction as were to be learned by heart. In Holt's day the term, *Compotus hands*, was familiar as meaning diagrams of hands, or the hands themselves, marked, or imagined as marked, with words which recalled various details of the calendar. Holt applied this form of space memory to the rote-learning of declensions, etc.; the step to the arrangement of these in columns was only a short one¹.

A third diagram, like its two predecessors covering the whole page, is the "figure of the terminations in the form of a bunch of six candles"; the first shows the usual terminations of the nominative, singular and plural, in each of the five declensions, and each of the remaining candles is similarly given up to one of the cases.

Some of the words in these diagrams are so stringently contracted (e.g. "hoz+ 2+" for "horum magistrorum") as to suggest that the book was primarily intended for the teacher rather than for the pupil. In which case, these diagrams (there are only these three) may be regarded as hints to the teacher which might be applied to all or many of the *memoriter* exercises. If, however, the book was meant for the child, to be used indiscriminately, it must be admitted that even John Holt did not quite shake off the grammarian's incubus, classification.

Gendres be fyve. The masculine, as hic poeta, the femynyne, as hec mensa, The neutre, as hoc templum, The comyne, as hic et hec sacerdos, All gendres, as hic et hec et hoc felix.

There are eight classes of nouns ("demonstratyf," "reddityf" and "relatyf" amongst them), while that happy hunting ground, the adverb, has thirty-three distinguishable kinds. Purely grammatical considerations save the preposition from this sort of pedantry; Holt finds only three kinds, those that go with the accusative, those with the ablative and those that go with both these cases.

Verse-making, a branch of literary training which was very generally practised in English schools of the sixteenth century,

¹ See Christopher Wordsworth, *The Ancient Kalendar of the University of Oxford*, which gives illustrations of the *Compotus manualis* printed in 1506 and 1519-20.

owed nothing to the recommendation of Quintilian, who confined himself to a bald discussion of metrical feet, without suggesting that the student should himself make verses. The classical revival of the fifteenth century compelled a more critical appreciation of literary technique amongst students in general, in which Latin and Greek poetry shared; but verse-making in schools does not date from that period. The ancient metres, particularly the hexameter, continued to be written by Christian versifiers, and the poems of Prudentius (4th cent.), Juvenecus (*ibid.*) and Sedulius (5th cent.) were used as "school authors" in England down to the sixteenth century. Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian taught "ars metrica" in the seventh century and a little later Aldhelm and his imitators were composing Latin verse¹. At Chartres and at Tours, verse-making was part of the usual discipline during the twelfth century, when also verses were being made in the school of Waltham Abbey². In 1357 the bishop of Exeter (Grandisson) protested vigorously against a premature study of metrical text-books³. In the next century Vittorino da Feltre practised his boys in verse-writing, an art which was prescribed for junior undergraduates at Paris in 1452 by the reforming Visitor, Cardinal Estouteville⁴.

No mention of verse-making occurs in the statutes of Winchester or of Eton, perhaps because the practice of defining studies by statute was not established in the fourteenth century. But in 1479 William Paston, then probably in his twentieth year, writes to his brother: "As for my comynge from Eton, I lake nothing but wersyfyynge, whyche I troste to have with a lytyll contynuanee"; he adds two verses which he affirms to be "of myn own makynge." Master William seems to have been either an idler, or a dunce, who should have been superannuated. His inaptness at "wersyfyynge" is partly explained by this very letter, which betrays matrimonial designs upon a certain "yong jentyl-woman" whose "qwentaince" he had recently made. An earlier letter hints a desire to his brother to "sporte me with yow at London a day or ij thys terme tyme⁵." The art of versifying in

¹ See M. R. James, *Camb. Hist. of English Lit.*, vol. i. pp. 72 ff.

² A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 56.

³ *Id.*, p. 316.

⁴ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, etc., vol. i. p. 437.

⁵ *Paston Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 242 and 237.

Latin and in Greek was not a novelty introduced into schools during the fifteenth century; but the classical revival gave the art a greatly increased vogue. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Ascham lamented that Chaucer, Wyat, Surrey and other Englishmen contented themselves with "barbarous and rude Ryming" when they might have adopted the "true versifying" of the Greeks, and so "be counted amongst men of learning and skill." This absurd pedantry led before the century closed to those essays in English beloved of Gabriel Harvey and his friends, stuff which has been not too severely condemned as "frantic balderdash." But the doctrine of Imitation and its consequences belong to a later chapter.

The "Brethren of the Common Life" was a religious society founded at Deventer in 1371 by the mystic, Geert Groote (*d.* 1384) and Florentius Radewinson (*d.* 1400), master of the great school attached to the church of St Lebuin, in that city. The moral and economic problems which had their origin in the "poor clerk," the clergyman only partially employed and very scantily beneficed, furnished one of the reasons for the creation of Jesus College, Rotherham¹. More than a century earlier, Geert Groote and his friend, when confronted by the same problems, induced some of these unattached ecclesiastics to adopt the life in common and to add to their small resources by copying manuscripts. Originally there was no intention that the members of the society should engage in education. But Radewinson turned his own house into a hostel for the first Brethren, and in that accidental manner the association between them and the schools began.

At that time, the towns of the Lower Rhine possessed large and important schools, some belonging to the local church, as was the case at Deventer; others, like the famous school at Zwolle, were governed by the town council. At a later period, the extension of the classical revival north of the Alps would seem to be greatly indebted to some at least of those schools. That of Zwolle was especially famous; it numbered amongst its pupils Alexander Hegius, who made Greek an integral part of the school curriculum, and was master (*circa* 1475-83 to 1498) of the school of St Lebuin, Deventer, at which for four years (1476-80, or 1480-4) Erasmus was a pupil.

¹ See p. 87 above.

The connexion between the schools and the Brethren of the Common Life became less casual as the society grew in numbers. Many of the Brethren were students in the widely scattered schools of the Netherlands, some of them were teachers in these schools. As the fifteenth century advanced, school-teaching became a recognized function of the Brethren; their services in that capacity were required by municipalities and other bodies which controlled schools. Then they themselves began to establish schools; in the sixteenth century the Brethren were teaching in most of the large towns of what is now called Holland and Belgium. The weight of evidence is against the assertion that the Brethren themselves showed any great sympathy with the classical revival before the close of the fifteenth century. Erasmus, who passed from St Lebuin's, Deventer, to the school of the Brethren at Herzogenbosch, spoke with contempt of the education given there. Yet this school is associated in a very real sense with the story of sixteenth-century education. Jean Despautère (1460-1520), one of its teachers, though not a Brother, was the author of a grammar, written in Latin hexameters, which remained the standard text-book in French schools for a century and a half after its publication (1510-1536). Johann Sturm (1507-89), who exercised an influence upon schools to which few, if any, of his contemporaries could pretend, was a pupil (1521-4) in the school at Liège, which Brethren from Herzogenbosch had founded, or revived, in 1496. Through Sturm, the organization of this school furnished the main lines upon which the grammar schools of Protestant Europe were subsequently conducted¹.

¹ For the educational work of the Brethren, see G. Bonet Maury, *De Opera Scholastica Fratrum Vitae Communis in Nederlandia*, Paris, 1889, and cp. W. H. Woodward, *Studies in Education* . . . 1400-1600, pp. 82 ff. On Sturm see chapter ix below.

CHAPTER VII

HUMANISM

ON its appearance in Germany and in the Low Countries, the new learning aroused distrust and active opposition in the minds of many who saw in it the manifestation of a spirit hostile to the accepted order of things. As early as 1495, Erasmus (1466-1536) took up the defence of letters in a dialogue, the *Antibarbari*, which after more than one revision in the interval, finally appeared, incomplete, in 1520¹. "It is a heresy to-day to know Greek literature," he there complains, "or to speak as Cicero spoke." "Beware, they say, he is a poet, he is too little of a Christian²." Ignorant friars raise a popular tumult against a reforming schoolmaster who ousts "those excellent authorities," Alexander, Graecista, Ebrard, Modista, Breviloquium, Mammetrepus and Catholicon³, indoctrinating children with teaching which it is wrong to impress upon adults. "If this is not seen to as quickly as possible, the age

¹ *Antibarbarorum liber primus*; three remaining books, or drafts of them, were lost before publication. The citations in the text are translated from the Leyden *Opera Omnia Erasmi*, vol. x. col. 1691 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, 1699-1700.

³ Alexander is the grammarian already noticed. The "Graecist," Ebrard of Béthune, wrote *Graecismus*, a metrical Latin grammar and vocabulary of an especially pedantic sort; its title is derived from one of its chapters which treats of Greek in an elementary fashion. The Modista, or Methodizer, may be any one of a number so-called; perhaps Michael of Marbais is meant, author of *De modis significandi*, which, as Gargantua proved to his mother, "non erat scientia." The *Breviloquium* was one of several works with titles ending in *-loquium* written by John Wallensis, an Oxford Franciscan; they might all be summarized as "Tit Bits for Young Preachers." The *Catholicon* was a Latin dictionary, and the *Mammetrepus* a biblical commentary of sorts. The date of the last is uncertain; all the others belong to the thirteenth century and were still being read in the sixteenth.

of Anti-Christ is at hand and it is all over with the Christian religion¹."

In reply, Erasmus maintains that under God's fatherly care human culture is continuous through the ages and that knowledge, ancient or modern, has a rightful place in the Christian philosophy

Zealous Greece discovered the arts; thereafter Latium, when battle had been joined, surpassed her in arms and almost equalled her in letters and oratory. Some made it their business to investigate the hidden causes of things, others, bound by Promethean chains, took note of the wandering courses of the celestial fires. There were those who essayed to pierce the secrets of the Divinity, one discovered the theory of argument, another that of oratory; some have portrayed most shrewdly the conduct of mortals, others were zealous in transmitting history to posterity. How great the labour of Antiquity in laws, in philosophy! To what end is all this? That we should begin to despise it? Or is it not rather that the one religion should through these fairest studies be honoured and sustained? Christ intended for the good of His Church everything that by the Gentiles was stoutly done, spoken with knowledge, acutely thought or diligently written. *He* gave the intellect, *He* added the ardour of inquiry, nor did they find answer to their questions by the aid of any other. Their age bore this fruit of the arts not for themselves, but for us. Just as no region furnishes everything in abundance ("nec omnis fert omnia tellus" as Virgil says), so, it seems to me, to each age are its respective gifts dispensed. Very many philosophers have worn out mind and life in seeking the *summum bonum*, the greatest good; but that which was truly the greatest and most excellent, He kept for His own time. Yet this was not because He willed that other ages should be useless, or passed in vain².

Erasmus insists on the civilizing influence of literature, and on the indebtedness of the moderns to their remote predecessors.

If we would speak the truth, what discovery have we not bungled which we have made after their time? What good discovery shall we make, who look so evilly on the discoveries of others? I therefore think there is no learning, except it be secular (for so they name the ancient learning) or at least founded and built upon secular literature. God forbid that the opinion be perverse and impious, but I would even suffer such learning to be called Christian, although I know as a fact that not a few religious are so stupid that they have small esteem even for Christian, that is, ecclesiastical learning. For, say they, what matters

¹ *Opera Omnia Erasmi*, vol. x. col. 1701.

² *Op. cit.*, 1712 F.

it, if we are not theologians? If you know Christ well, it is enough, even if you are ignorant of all else. . . . Would that they who boast of ignorance of letters did well know Christ¹.

Ignorance is the mother of pride, but learning brings forth modesty. What less true can be said than that men through literature become crafty, conceited and scornful? If our opponents call prudence, craft, I make no retort, since in the Gospel we are bidden to imitate the wisdom of serpents. But as to scornfulness, to whom does not the charge seem absurd? For what is it that has led obdurate and savage men to a life more humane, to a gentler temper, to more restrained conduct? Is it not letters? These fashion the mind, render its affections gentle, tame its overmastering impulses, soften it, and refuse to tolerate its savagery. But do our detractors in truth call it scornfulness, when we do not admire their barbarism, when we cannot delight in the trivialities of those who are most ignorant, when we do not cherish dross as if it were gems? Is our behaviour that of a scornful man or is it not rather that of a sane one, who discriminates between best and worst? As to modesty, I am of the opinion of St Jerome and of a certain Greek, who rightly thought and neatly wrote, that want of skill induces confidence, but that distrust is the companion of knowledge. I know that Quintilian thoroughly understood this; "the less capable the natural capacity," says he, "the more it tries to amplify and aggrandize itself²."

The old learning was obsolescent, if not obsolete; yet the official system of culture refused to take note of the change. The universities for the most part continued to employ unhistorical and quite uncritical methods of interpreting the Scriptures and Aristotle, the writings with which they were chiefly concerned. Notwithstanding the increased facilities for studying the original languages, these theological and philosophical authorities continued to be read chiefly in Latin versions. The schools took small account of literature, but, hurrying through the old-fashioned grammar course, passed on to the study of logic as soon as might be. Both schools and universities relied for erudition, or general information, upon the mediaeval hand-books and encyclopaedias, compilations which, with all their merits, added errors and superstitions of their own to those of their originals, which had been current under the Roman Empire.

Henry of Glarus, writing to Erasmus in 1517, gives the following

¹ *Op. cit.*, 1713.

² *Op. cit.*, 1715 B.

account of the University of Paris and its theological faculty, the Sorbonne.

I am greatly disappointed in my hope of practising Greek, for which purpose I came to Paris; so far as I remember, nobody is lecturing publicly or privately upon an outstanding Greek author. Bands of sophists by the thousand are clamouring about me. I recently attended a disputation in the Sorbonne, where I heard extraordinary applause, such as might have been heard in Pompey's Theatre. With great difficulty, I refrained from laughing; but no one else laughed at that great battle of pigeon's milk. For they were very angry with Adam, our first parent, because he had eaten apples and not pears; and those haughty persons could hardly keep from railing about it. But at last theologic seriousness conquered anger, and Adam escaped with lucky omens and without a wound. And I too went away, satiated with nursery tales. And so I stop at home, humming there at my ease, and delighting in Horace, or with Democritus deriding a stupid world¹.

When this was written, Erasmus, the first Latinist of his time, Reuchlin (1455-1522), the great Hebrew scholar of Germany, and Budaeus (1467-1540), the French scholar who excelled all his contemporaries in knowledge of Greek, were at the summit of their fame.

At first, the attack on the new studies came from old-fashioned scholars who thought that "poetry" (their contemptuous name for literature in general) was an entirely inadequate substitute for the systematic curriculum of pure grammar, logic and philosophy which had long prevailed in schools and universities. Some saw an even greater objection in the character of a literature of which the new men affirmed them to be ignorant. ("Quintilian, Pliny, Aulus Gellius, Livy, in fine all who have written Latin, are 'poets' for these silly folk, who do not understand what poets are, or what poetry is².") But Erasmus himself expresses the feeling of these particular objectors very fairly. "Look at the facts," he makes the Dutch mayor in the dialogue say.

You throw out Christian authors and introduce pagans, expel those who are well known and bring in those who are unknown, thrust out the old established and bring forward the new, take away the easy and confront us with the obscure; last and worst of all, you forbid the

¹ P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*, vol. III. p. 37; F. M. Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus*, vol. II. p. 603.

² *Antibarbari*, col. 1700.

knowledge of chaste writers and put lascivious authors before our youth....Parents and my fellow citizens ask whether we are sending our children to school" or to a very different kind of place¹.

These are reasons for the opposition raised by educators; the new studies found much more bitter and determined enemies in many theologians who saw only a solvent of the Christian creed in the critical study of Greek and Hebrew, a study which the least wise amongst them would have suppressed. In its origin, the Dominican Order (the Friars Preachers) had shown zeal in learning the oriental Biblical languages; forgetful of their own early history and anxious for the stability of the Faith, the Dominicans of the University of Cologne lent themselves to an attempted destruction of all Hebrew books other than the Old Testament, and to the persecution of Johann Reuchlin, the greatest of contemporary Hebrew scholars in the Christian world. The attempt proved disastrous to the Friars and their friends; they became the laughing-stock of all who read Latin, when they were lampooned in the *Epistles of Obscure Men* (vol. I. 1515; vol. II. 1517).

Suspicious eyes were also turned upon Greek. Martin van Dorp, a theologian of the University of Louvain, tried in 1514 to dissuade Erasmus from publishing his critical text of the New Testament; the reasons which he gives are instructive. "I understand," he tells Erasmus,

that you have corrected the New Testament and have annotated above a thousand passages, not without advantage to the theologians. On that head also I should, as a friend, like to give a friendly hint, and I will make no reference to the great labour of Laurentius Valla and of Jacobus Faber in the same field; I do not hesitate to say that you will do better in every direction than both of them. But in truth, what it means to amend the Scriptures and to correct Latin by Greek texts ought to be considered. For if I should show that there is no mixture of the false or erroneous in the Latin translation, will you not say that the work of all who try to amend it is superfluous, except that now and then they may remind us of the fact, if anywhere some translator have turned a passage more expressively? But I am arguing now concerning truth and correctness, and I assert this on behalf of our commonly received version. For it is not reasonable to believe that the Catholic Church has erred in this matter for so many ages past, that Church which always has used, and still at this day sometimes

¹ "Lupanar," *Antibarbari*, 1702.

approves, sometimes uses this version. Nor is it likely that so many holy fathers, so many perfected men, who, relying upon it, have in the General Councils defined every difficulty, defended and explained the Faith, and instituted its canon law, to which even kings have submitted—it is not likely that such and so many persons have been deceived. And it is agreed amongst the majority of theologians and canon lawyers that Councils of this kind, duly assembled, never err in respect of the Faith¹.

Erasmus, who had taught Greek to a small circle at Cambridge during the period 1511–1514, allows us to glance at the position of the new learning in the English universities about the year 1518. Writing from Louvain to Mosellanus in the next year, he says,

This university, in which the study of letters was wont to flourish quite undisturbed, is vexed by extraordinary tumults, such that never in my life have I seen their like. You would say that some dire fate troubles the business of its students. . . . England has two not undistinguished universities, Cambridge and Oxford. Greek literature is taught at both. In Cambridge it is pursued undisturbed, because the Chancellor is the Reverend Father John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, great not only in learning but also in theologic life. But at Oxford when a certain young man of no common learning professed Greek sufficiently well, some barbarian or other took upon himself to rage violently in a popular assembly against Greek literature with clamour fierce and great. Thereupon the King [Henry VIII], who by chance was then in the neighbourhood, being himself not unlettered and favouring good literature, and hearing of the matter through More and Pace, officially intimated that those who heartily desired to do so might embrace Greek literature. And so silence was imposed upon those wranglers².

Thomas More wrote a letter of protest addressed to the authorities of the University, in which a fuller account is given of the dispute between “the Greeks and Trojans”; the letter³ was written in March, 1518, at the time of the disturbances.

“When I was in London a little while ago,” says More, “I heard it said rather often that certain members of your university had put their heads together and agreed to call themselves Trojans, moved

¹ P. S. Allen, *ut supra*, vol. II. p. 14; F. M. Nichols, *ut supra*, vol. II. p. 169. Mr Allen points out that van Dorp retracted these opinions in 1516.

² P. S. Allen, *op. cit.*, vol. III. pp. 542 and 546.

³ Printed in full in Jortin's *Life of Erasmus* (1760), vol. III. pp. 662 ff. The citations above are translated from Jortin.

thereto by hostility to Greek letters, or by a distorted zeal for a different literature, or (and this is, I think, more likely) by an inopportune inclination towards sport and trifling. One of them (elder rather than wiser, as the saying is) took the name of Priam, another that of Hector, a third that of Paris, or of some other ancient Trojan, and the rest similarly; with no other intention than, as a faction adverse to Greek, to ridicule those who studied Greek literature. And, so it is said, this is how it has come about that nobody who has acquired a smatch of that tongue can abide either at home or abroad without being pointed out, guffawed at and attacked by the scoffs of one of these absurd Trojans. They ridicule what they alone are ignorant of, all good letters; so that the old adage, The Phrygians are wise when it is too late, seems to fit very pat these members of yours. I kept on hearing accounts of this business from many different persons, which displeased everybody; and to me in particular it was distasteful that there should be amongst you those who by such silliness would at once abuse their own leisure and become a nuisance to the studious. Still, when I considered how impossible it is to ensure in so great a concourse of persons that, at all times and in all places, all of them shall be sensible, restrained and profitable to others, I put it all down to mere trifling. But subsequently I was in attendance upon his most invincible Majesty [Henry VIII] here at Abingdon, where I learned that this foolery had at last threatened to become a frenzy. One of these Trojans, I don't know who, but a person wise in his own conceit, merry and talkative, as his patrons say in excuse, but mad, in the judgment of those who regard his acts, during this season of Lent, prated in the university pulpit [*concionibus publicis*] not only against Greek letters and Latin culture, but very freely against all liberal arts. . . . With what countenance must his hearers have beheld him, from whom they had come to hear spiritual wisdom, gesticulating in the pulpit like an ape, laughing and guffawing? In pious mood, they awaited the words of life; they went away, having heard nothing to remember but an attack on letters, and the office of preaching defamed by the silliness of the preacher. . . . I do not hear that very many have advanced even half-way in learning of this kind. Yet that good man (as if he would proclaim how far he was removed from temperance of speech) openly called heretics those who desired to acquire Greek, characterized as 'the greatest of devils' those who taught that language, and their pupils as 'devils,' 'very paltry devils,' as he temperately and, for him, facetiously said."

The opposition to the teaching of Greek, which these passages describe, was of the kind which most new movements encounter:

that is to say, it proceeded from a number of reactionaries who only spoke for themselves. It received no effective help from the ecclesiastical authorities; and individual prelates, beginning with Leo X himself, favoured the Greek studies of Erasmus. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to the latter,

I have communicated your publication on the New Testament¹ to some of my brother bishops and doctors of divinity, who with one voice declare that in it you have done a work of the greatest value².

"I do not know whether the work will be approved by everybody," Erasmus told the Pope, "but certainly up to the present I find it is approved by theologians of the first rank, and especially by that incomparable bishop, Christopher of Basel, who witnessed its printing³."

There is reason to suppose that Erasmus hastened the publication of his own work in order to forestall the New Testament volume of the *Complutensian Polyglot* which was being prepared under the patronage of the Spanish cardinal, Ximenes. This great work, though printed in 1514, was not made public for some years. The Cardinal had already proved his deep interest in the Biblical languages by the establishment of Greek and Hebrew professorships in the University of Alcalà (Complutum) which he had founded in the period 1499-1508. Amongst the ecclesiastical supporters of Erasmus, that is, of a critical study and historical interpretation of the Greek text of the New Testament, were Archbishop Warham, Colet, Dean of St Paul's, Cuthbert Tunstall, Master of the Rolls, and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who moved Henry VII's mother, the Lady Margaret, to found at Cambridge, Christ's College (1505) and St John's College (1511).

If the responsibility for opposing the new studies attaches to any body of men in especial, it would seem that some of the universities, and particularly their theological faculties, are to blame. Cologne suffered because of its unshaken hostility to the new order; other universities were saved from the fate of Cologne by the presence of the classical learning within their borders. Wolsey founded a Greek lectureship at Oxford, in the same year which witnessed the doings of the Trojans. Two years earlier, Richard

¹ *Novum Instrumentum*, Basel, 1516. The first printed and published Greek text of the New Testament.

² Allen, *op. cit.*, vol. II. p. 262; Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. II. p. 289.

³ Allen, vol. II. p. 290; Nichols, vol. II. p. 316.

Fox, Bishop of Winchester, had founded Corpus Christi College (1516) with the express intention of favouring the new studies. Candidates for its scholarships were required to know something of the Latin poets, orators and historians, and to be able to write Latin verse and good prose, as well as engage in disputations of the old kind. Greek might be spoken in the College alternatively with the customary academic Latin. Fox also provided the College with three lectureships whose express purpose was the advancement of the new studies throughout the University. Of the three lecturers, one was to devote himself to Latin classical literature, a second to Greek, and the third to patristic theology, that is, the divinity taught by the early Greek and Latin Fathers, as distinguished from the scholastic systems of Duns Scotus and St Thomas Aquinas¹. These lectures at Corpus Christi College were open to the University at large.

At Louvain, Jerome Busleiden, a wealthy ecclesiastic, founded in 1517 the Collegium Trilingue for the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. As a rival of the University, the College had a troubled history during its first years, when it profited from the guidance of Erasmus. Francis I, inspired by Budaeus, had long desired to endow a body of humanist teachers who should countervail the reactionary temper of the Sorbonne. In 1530 he founded the Corporation of the Royal Readers, which is known to-day as the Collège de France. With Louvain and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is associated the name of the Spaniard, Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) who taught in both; at Corpus (1523, 1524-5) he was honoured as a foremost exponent of the new learning. Vives has received far less than his due from posterity; recent studies make it clear that his written work was read and pondered long after his time by men whose names are far more familiar to-day than Vives' own².

It would seem that the forces of mere reaction and obscurantism took a conspicuous share in opposing the introduction of the classical literatures as the substantive part of the curriculum.

¹ On the other hand, Brasenose College (f. 1512) was established as a stronghold of scholastic learning. On these two colleges see H. C. M. Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford . . . to 1530*, chap. xv.

² See W. H. Woodward, *Education during the Renaissance*, chap. x; Foster Watson, *Vives: on Education*, and other works by the same author.

But it is possible that some of the opponents took a longer view, and recognized that the struggle was, or might easily become, one between two radically different philosophies of life, of which they deliberately rejected one. Looking back over four centuries, we seem in some of the incidents to be watching the secular duel between naturalism and supernaturalism; some of the combatants on either side may have felt this, however obscurely. As a principle, humanism involved the unfettered exercise of reason in reference to the aims and course of human life; its supreme end was the attainment of that life in all its fulness, without respect to any external consideration whatsoever. As a method, it recognized the complexity of man's nature; it held reason in high honour, strove itself to be rational, yet honoured emotion and conduct also. In harmony with its supreme end, the method of humanism was a search for "all-sided-ness," and in particular it concerned itself with everything human that promised to ennoble life. Its chief virtue was magnanimity, greatness of soul.

The humanism of Europe had its roots in the ancient non-Christian civilization. The earliest Christian distrust of that civilization and of its educational instrument, the classical literature, sprang from the belief that it embodied the worship of false gods, which were real existences, more accurately styled "devils" than "deities." The cult of these depraved spirits resulted in a depraved morality, to which so much of classical literature, in poetry particularly, was witness. But as philosophical and theological reflexion grew in depth, the early, almost instinctive repulsion from the ideals portrayed in the ancient writings became a reasoned conviction that Christianity and humanism represented principles of conduct which it was very difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile. The latter taught by implication that man's nature in its essence is good and perfectible by human means. The former expressly declared that man's nature has been vitiated at its very source by sin, and that divine grace alone can remove the taint. The two join issue on the question, Is there such a thing as sin?

To some Christians, humanism meant, on the one hand, the enthronement of intellect above all other human attributes, a sacrilegious intrusion into the unknowable, the denial of the super-natural; on the other, it was an Epicurean pursuit of pleasure,

a rejection of self-sacrifice, a cultivation, not of humility, but of pride and self-will. In a word, to these thinkers humanism was in essentials a rejection of Christianity itself.

The opposition between humanism and Christianity became flagrant in fifteenth-century Italy. Whereas Christianity, penetrated by consciousness of sin, preached sacrifice, self-effacement, humility and dependence on a higher power, humanism, strong in its faith in human perfectibility, taught self-reliance and exalted magnificence and personal distinction. The Italian humanist aspired above all else to exhibit *virtù* in his own life¹. In noble natures, this meant respect for personality; the aim of education was for them the development of personality in each. In natures less noble or ignoble, *virtù* consisted chiefly in standing out from the herd, in being "somebody"; each thought of culture as a mode of "self-expression" and as a disregard of conventional standards generally. It was assumed that the "self" to be expressed was by nature a self which ought to be expressed, that it was its own standard and its own sufficient justification. Hence the startling combination of ruthless cruelty with refined scholarship already noticed in John Tiptoft. Dr Creighton thus draws the portrait of Gismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini from 1432 to 1468:

He was at once a ferocious scoundrel, a clear-headed general, an adventurous politician, a careful administrator, a man of letters and of refined taste. No one could be more entirely emancipated, more free from prejudice than he. He was a typical Italian of the Renaissance, combining the brutality of the Middle Ages, the political capacity which Italy early developed and the emancipation brought by the new learning².

He and Tiptoft were soldiers; but the loosening of moral ties was not less visible amongst scholars, ecclesiastics and public men.

The anti-Christian spirit was thought to be embodied in *The Prince* (1513) of Machiavelli; the ruthlessness of that famous treatise, its shameless opportunism, its contempt of moral force and, generally, its trust in the principle "*Pecca fortiter*," came to be regarded as typical consequences of the new ideas. Human-

¹ See W. H. Woodward, *Erasmus concerning Education*, pp. 42 ff.

² *Historical Essays and Reviews*, 1902, p. 138.

ism, so understood, was the negation of religion; and humanism was apt to retort that religion was irrational and superstitious. This, and no mere questions of more or less Latin, of Latin better or worse, or even of literature *v.* scholasticism, was at bottom the issue which sixteenth-century educators had to face.

As we have seen, the issue was not novel, though the need for a solution was more acute. Gregory the Great had dismissed the problem as insoluble; Christians should not meddle with "the idle vanities of secular learning¹." But the philosophy, science and ethics of the old civilization could not be stigmatized as "vanities," and in fact a great deal of that secular learning was at the base of Christian theology. Quite apart from such considerations as these, there was a perennial attraction in humanism, in as much as it expressed deep-seated aspirations of human nature; and men who had acquired the power to read the Latin and Greek classics were not always willing to forgo the enjoyment of the beauty which these revealed, or to deny the reality and the innocence of the joys which they described. Hence a party of compromise on this question existed from the first, without recognizing itself as anything else than a natural accompaniment of the literary education which was dominant in pre-Christian times. The great Italian educators of the fifteenth century endeavoured to imbue their humanism with a Christian spirit; this was conspicuously the case with one of the earliest of them, Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446), who, for the last twenty-three years of his life, was head of the court school at Mantua². North of the Alps this tradition was continued by Reuchlin, Erasmus, Budaeus, Vives and a host of smaller men. The later German Protestant educators set up an ideal which they named *pietas litterata*, a phrase which in the sixteenth century became almost technical, as defining a particular attitude toward the ancient classics, and as denoting a course of reading which added Christian writers to those of antiquity.

The curriculum of compromise, as it may not unfairly be called, is well illustrated in the course of study prescribed in its statutes (1518) by John Colet (1467-1519), Dean of St Paul's, for

¹ See p. 3 above.

² See W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators*, etc., and *Studies in Education* . . . 1400-1600.

the use of St Paul's School, which was founded, or revived, by him in 1510-12¹.

As towchyng in this scole what shalbe taught . . . it passith my wit to devyse and determyn in particular; but in generall . . . I wolde they were taught [always] in good literature both laten and greke, and good auctours suych as haue the veray Romane eliquence joyned withe wisdom, specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten [either] in verse or in prose; for my entent is by thys scole specially to increse knowlege and worshipping of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu, and good Cristen lyff an maners in the Children.

For that purpose, they must study the *Catechyzon* in English, Colet's own *Accidence* and Erasmus's *Institutio Christiani hominis* and *Copia verborum*.

And thenne other auctors Christian as lactancius, prudentius and proba and sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Mantuanus² and such other as shalbe thought convenyent and moste to purpose unto the true laten spech . . . the olde laten spech and the varay Romayne tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was usid, whiche also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes. [That which] ratheyr may be called blotterature thenne literature I utterly abbanysh and exclude oute of this scole, and charge the Maisters that they teche [always what] is the best and instruct the chyl dren in greke and laten, in Redyng unto them suych auctours that hathe with wisdom joyned the pure chaste eloquence³—

that is, the acknowledged classical authors.

Cardinal Wolsey's abortive scheme (1528) for a grammar school at Ipswich makes a noticeable contrast with Colet's curriculum. Wolsey, who for six months (1498) was master of Magdalen College School, is much more precise than Colet in defining the course of study⁴. In his scheme, Greek does not appear, but,

¹ Mr Leach held that Colet's "Free Scole of Poules" was but a continuation of the very ancient cathedral grammar school. See *Journal of Education*, June, 1909, and "Milton as schoolboy and schoolmaster" (*Proceedings*, British Academy, vol. III.).

² Mantuanus was an Italian monk contemporary with Colet. Most of the other names have occurred before in this book. An account of their writings will be found in Mr Leach's "Milton as schoolboy," etc. *ut supra*.

³ J. H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet, D.D.*, p. 279.

⁴ Described in a prefatory note to *Rudimenta grammatices & docendi methodus* (1528), the grammar of Colet and Lily which, it would seem, Wolsey desired to make the standard text-book for all English schools.

with the exception of the earliest "set book" (Aesop in Latin), all the prescribed authors belong to the "golden age" of Latin literature. Lily is the authority in grammar, and the teachers are requested to pay particular attention to Latin conversation and to the pronunciation (not specified) of the youngest boys; verse-making begins apparently in the highest form but one of the eight forms composing the school. The great statesman was anxious to ensure a gentle discipline in his school; he recommended the teachers to take special pains with the small children of the first form, to refrain from stripes and threatening looks, and to prevent over-work by the use of play¹.

Colet's statutes², which were drawn up when the school was in full working order under its first high master, William Lily, set forth the organization of St Paul's School in some detail. The number of pupils was fixed at 153, who were to be taught *gratis*; parents were to provide wax candles in winter, to furnish their children with one penny each for the offering at St Paul's on the feast of the Holy Innocents (Dec. 28) and to pay an entrance fee of fourpence (equal to about four shillings to-day) for each child. These entrance fees were paid over to a "poor scholar" who swept the school-room every Saturday, and "from time to time" gave the necessary attention to the exceedingly primitive sanitary arrangements. The staff consisted of a high master, sur-master and chaplain, all of whom were lodged and provided with cloth for making their "livery gowns." The stipend of the high master was "a marke a weke," that is, £34. 13s. 4d. a year, that of his colleague half as much, while the chaplain received £8; these sums should perhaps be multiplied by twelve in order to ascertain their value to-day. The high master's pension of ten pounds is called "a reasonable living." He might be layman, wedded or bachelor, or a priest; he must be "whole in body, honest and virtuous, learned in good and clean Latin literature and also in Greek, if such may be got." The sur-master must be "well lettered," and the chaplain (of course a priest) "yf he be lerned," may at the master's discretion assist in the teaching. The school-building, which measured 122 feet by 33, included the high master's lodging;

¹ See the full Latin text in J. R. Bloxam, *A Register of . . . Magdalen College*, vol. III. pp. 43-7.

² Lupton, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 ff.

according to Erasmus, the school-room itself was divided by curtains into four sections. In the first section were the youngest children and this was no doubt the scene of the chaplain's instruction in religion and the accidence. The mid sections contained the boys taught by the sur-master, or usher, and the high master. The last section was the chapel.

The whole school has no bays, or recesses, so much so that there is neither any dining-room nor dormitory. Every boy has his own proper seat, on regularly ascending tiers, with gangways left between. Each class contains sixteen; and the head boy has a stall somewhat higher than the rest¹.

The government of the foundation was vested in the Mercers' Company, with power to vary the statutes as the future might require.

The qualification for admission is thus stated by Colet: "If your chyld can rede and wryte latyn and Englysshe sufficiently, so that he be able to rede and wryte his owne lessons, than he shalbe admytted into the schole for a scholer²." The school hours were those still usual during summer in some continental countries, namely, from 7 to 11 a.m., and from 1 to 5 p.m. There were to be no "remedies," that is, casual half-holidays or "days off," save on the personal request of king, archbishop or bishop. "In every form, one principal child shall be placed in the chair, president of that form." This employment of monitors, who heard their class-mates "say" lessons and helped to maintain order, was necessary, owing to the paucity of teachers and the individual character of much of the teaching. The days of form-rooms and form-masters were still far distant, and there was not much oral "class-teaching" as now practised.

That the curriculum of *pietas litterata* was sometimes felt to be a compromise appears from the following, written in March, 1512, by Colet, to Erasmus.

Let me tell you of an absurd thing. I understand that a certain bishop, one who is held to be of the wiser sort, fell foul of my school

¹ J. H. Lupton, *Lives of Jehan Vitrier and John Colet*, pp. 27 and 51. This work is a translation of Erasmus's letter (No. 435, Leyden edition, 1703-6) to Justus Jonas. The building here described was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.

² Colet's *Aeditio*; Lupton, *Colet*, p. 285.

in a great assemblage, and said that I had there set up something that was hurtful, yea, evil, nay, I should say, using his own words, "a house of idolatry." I think he said this because the poets are taught there. I am not angered by these remarks, Erasmus, but I laugh greatly over them¹.

The teaching of grammar at St Paul's brought the school into the stream of reform derived from Magdalen College, Oxford, which according to tradition was the college of Colet and Lily. Colet was anxious to secure a text-book which "by its brevity and clearness would commend itself to children" and, assisted by William Lily and Erasmus, about the year 1513 he produced the *Complete book on the construction of the eight parts of speech*², a little volume of some fifty pages. Written throughout in Latin, it presented a concise, rudimentary syntax, including rules, examples, notes and exceptions, beginning with the verb, and not with the noun as was customary. Between the publication of this work and the Dean's death in 1519, Colet and Lily joined in writing the book (prefatory letter, 1st August, 1510) which was to remain in essentials the standard Latin grammar for English schools till it was superseded by the Public Schools Latin Primer about the years 1866-8. The Latin title of Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1534 may be rendered, "The *Aeditio* [publication, statement] of John Colet, theologian, sometime dean of St Paul's, together with certain *Rudiments* of grammar by William Lily³."

The book, being intended for the use of St Paul's, opens with the rules which were brought to parents' notice when their children were admitted there; then follow a primer of religious instruction in English, and, in Latin, the creed, paternoster, Ave Maria, and prayers to the Child Jesus and to His Mother. The domestic "Hornbook" and "Primer" of a later date contained similar subject-matter, with the addition of the alphabet and syllables, "ab, ib, ob," etc. In "a lytell prohome to the boke" Colet explains that he has endeavoured to arrange his grammar in a manner

¹ P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum . . . Erasmi*, vol. i. p. 508; Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, vol. II. p. 63.

² *Absolutissimus de octo orationis partium Constructione libellus*, etc., 1515, Basel and Strasbourg. Perhaps Lily wrote the greater part. On this point and on Lily's Grammar generally, see Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, chap. xv.

³ See the prefatory matter in Lupton's *Colet*, Appendix B.

which is best suited to young wits, for whom nothing is "too softe nor too familyer."

Wherefore I pray you all lytel babes, all lytell chyldren, lerne gladly this lytell treatyse, and commende it dyligently unto your memoryes, trustynge of this begynnynge that ye shal procede and growe to perfyte lyterature, and come at the laste to be great clerkes. And lyfte up your lytell whyte handes for me, which prayeth for you to god; to whom be al honour and imperiall maiesty and glory. Amen.

The text-book proper begins with Colet's *accidence* in English, "An introduction of the partes of spekyng for chyldren and yonge begynners into latyn speche." This is very similar to Stanbridge's *Accidence*¹, but the form is not catechetical and the four conjugations are printed separately in this manner.

Praesent	Sing.	Amo	amas	amat
	Plur.	amamus	amatis	amant

The forms are not Englished. The declensions are given each in two vertical columns, singular and plural respectively, in the order, nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, ablative. "Genders of nouns be seven"; a score of classes amongst adverbs, and eleven amongst interjections, are specified.

Colet's part of the composite work closes with the advice to those who would master "clene latyn" that they should

aboue all besyly lerne & rede good latyn auctours of chosen poetes and oratours, and note wysely how they wrote and spake, and study alway to folowe them: desyryng none other rules but their example. For in the begynnynge men spake not latyn bycause suche rules were made, but contrariwyse bycause men spake suche latyn, upon that folowed the rules and were made. That is to saye, latyn speche was before the rules, not the rules before the latyn speche.

Lily's *Rudimenta* (also in English) begins with rules for construing which in effect are those which Stanbridge had stated in his *Parvulorum Institutio*². The simple syntax of verbs and nouns follows, with the three concords, the use of the "oblique cases," and of prepositions, the rules concerning the names of towns. A dozen pages next contain Lily's "Carmen de Moribus"³ (the

¹ See p. 101 above.

² See p. 101 above.

³ A late eighteenth-century prose version of this famous humanist code of schoolboy manners and morals will be found below, p. 130.

Qui mihi discipulus) on the behaviour expected from schoolboys, with rules respecting heteroclite nouns and versification.

This text-book of Colet and Lily was reissued in 1528 by Cardinal Wolsey, under a title which may be rendered "The Rudiments of Grammar and the Method of Teaching prescribed not only for the Ipswich School happily begun by the Most Reverend Thomas, Lord Cardinal of York, but as well for the schools of all England." The phrase "*docendi methodus*" may refer to the scheme for reading in the eight classes of Ipswich School¹ which Wolsey here prefixed to the work of Colet and Lily, or it may refer to the general disposition of that work. But the reference to "all the schools of the whole of England" foreshadowed a piece of Tudor administration which was intended to compel some uniformity of school teaching throughout the realm. Effect was given to this design by a royal proclamation which is inserted in "An Introduction of the Eyght Partes of Speche and the construction of the same, compiled and sette forth by the commaundement of our most gracious souverayne lorde the king" [*i.e.* Henry VIII], 1542. In substance this proclamation was repeated by Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth; and the Canons of the Church of England (1604) compelled schoolmasters to teach this particular grammar "and none other."

Henry VIII by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head, to all schoolmasters and teachers of grammar within this his realm, greeting. Among the manifold business and most weighty affairs appertaining to our regal authority and office, we forget not the tender babes and the youth of our realm whose good education and godly bringing up is a great furniture to the same and cause of much goodness. And to the intent that hereafter they may the more readily and easily attain the rudiments of the Latin tongue, without the great hindrance which heretofore hath been, through the diversity of grammars and teachings, we will and command and straightly charge all you schoolmasters and teachers of grammar within this our realm, and other our dominions, as ye intend to avoid our displeasure, and have our favour, to teach and learn your scholars this English Introduction here ensuing, and the Latin Grammar annexed to the same, and none other, which we have caused for your ease and your scholars' speedy preferment briefly and plainly to be

¹ See p. 119 above.

compiled and set forth. Fail not to apply your scholars in learning and godly education.

The address to the reader states that the compilation of the book had been entrusted to "certain learned men meet for such a purpose"; but their debt to their predecessors is evident. The *Introduction*, with its English in black letter and the Latin examples printed in Roman type, is, like Colet's *Aeditio*, a repetition of the *Accidence* of Stanbridge. The Latin Grammar proper (*Institutio Compendiaria totius grammaticae*), by far the larger section, is in Latin and in turn treats of orthography, etymology (*accidence*), syntax and prosody. The mnemonic verses beginning "Propria quae maribus tribuuntur, mascula dicas," and "As in praesenti perfectum format in *avi*" and other versified lines on gender are ascribed to Lily, whose "Carmen de Moribus" is also included in the volume. "Propria quae maribus" and "As in praesenti" are also attributed to John Rightwise, who became sur-master of St Paul's in 1517. The two parts, the *Introduction* and the *Grammar*, were known subsequently as "A Short Introduction of Grammar" and the "Brevissima Institutio," these together making up "Lily's Grammar," "The Eton Latin Grammar."

Schoolmasters could well appreciate the inconvenience caused by diversity of terms, text-books and modes of using them, and on that ground many would welcome the employment of a standard book. But the Elizabethan *Short Introduction* (1577) was upon dangerous ground, when it asserted that teachers afore-time taught "diversly and so coude not doe it all best, *because there is but one bestnesse*, not onelye in euery thing, but also in the manner of euery thing." It is therefore not surprising to find that later generations of teachers, more especially in the seventeenth century, came to look upon the monopoly enjoyed by "Lily" as a somewhat galling hindrance to progress.

It is impossible to particularize, or even to gauge with accuracy, the influence which, through many channels, was exerted by individual scholars upon the practice of education during the sixteenth century. The statement applies especially to Erasmus, in his own day a literary dictator of European reputation; but two works published by him in 1528 call for some notice, since their relation to the history of education is unmistakeable. These are the dialogue entitled *Ciceronianus* and the treatise on

classical pronunciation, *De Recta Latini Graecique Sermonis Pronuntiatione*.

Ciceronianus is its author's contribution to the controversy concerning the doctrine of imitation, which, since its beginning in Italy, had then occupied the attention of scholars for some forty years. Quintilian, whose well-balanced opinion has already been noticed¹, discussed the employment of imitation generally as a mode of training the orator; but these fifteenth and sixteenth century scholars meant, by the term, the imitation of Cicero as the supreme and only model of Latin prose.

They are endeavouring to introduce as it were a new sect amongst us. They call themselves, Ciceronians, and with intolerable disdain reject the writings of all persons which do not bear the marks of Cicero upon them; deterring our youths from the reading of other authors, they compel them to a superstitious rivalry of Marcus Tullius alone. Meanwhile, no men less express the mind of Cicero than do these very persons who boast his name and make empty promises under its cover².

"Apes," Erasmus repeatedly terms them. Nosoponus, their representative in the dialogue, thus justifies the epithet: "For seven whole years now I have touched nothing but Ciceronian books, abstaining from all others with a scrupulosity no less than that of the Carthusian who abstains from flesh." "Why so?" he is asked.

"Lest a smutch of alien phrase should mar the lustre of Ciceronian diction. In like manner, lest I err unawares, I remove from my sight and shut up in a book-box any work of another author, and in my library there is room for Cicero only. I have his picture fairly portrayed not only in my private chapel and study, but likewise on all my doors, and I bear about with me his portrait, adorned with gems, lest he should ever be wanting to my thoughts. Indeed, no other figure but his visits me in my dreams. . . . I have been so industrious in turning over the pages of his writings that I almost know them all by heart. . . . Now I am preparing to imitate them." "And what length of time have you apportioned for that?" "Just as much time as I gave to reading them. . . . There is no particle in all the books of that divine man which I have not set in order in an alphabetical lexicon." "That must need a big volume." "Two robust porters fitly

¹ See p. 96 above.

² *Ciceronianus*, Oxford ed. of 1693, Preface.

loaded can scarce support the burden. . . . But there is further another volume, even bigger than the first, in which I have noted in literal order phrases peculiar to Marcus Tullius. Then there is a third in which I have assembled all the metrical passages employed by Cicero in opening or closing phrases, clauses, periods, and the rhythms in which he regulates the intervening parts, and then the measure he employs for particular meanings; and I have done this so that not a tittle can escape notice. But so far this is less than nothing¹."

Nosoponus further describes the meticulous care with which he studies his great pattern, expressing himself to the effect that no one can be called a Ciceronian in whose books a single petty word survived unerased which could not be pointed out in Cicero's works¹. All this, of course, is exaggeration; but a study of rhetorical instruction as it was given in the English schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proves that it was but the exaggeration of caricature. The evidence will be found in the pages of Ascham and of Hoole, and in the practice of Sturm.

Erasmus charged the Ciceronians with senseless affectation. The modern world was not the world of Cicero, Rome was not old Rome, Christianity was not paganism. Yet these men were striving to make current in the new what was peculiar to the old; they were in truth advocating a pagan cult. Here he seems to be exhibiting the motive which actuated some at least of the imitators. Imitation was the only way by which, in striving to attain *virtù*, nobodies might appear to be somebodies. Erasmus denies the all-sufficiency of Cicero, and especially the appropriateness of his language to the requirements of modern civilization.

How many thousands of things there are about which we frequently must speak, of which Marcus Tullius did not even dream? But if he were living, he would have to talk about these same things with us².

A phrase

is not bad Latin simply because it is not found in Cicero, whose work, as already frequently said, has not survived entire; and, if it had so survived, it did not treat of every matter. Moreover, if Cicero had written about everything belonging to his own times, he neither wrote nor knew the things which pertain to our day. Lastly, Varro does not yield to Cicero in propriety and elegance of language, and Caesar excels him in those qualities. Cicero was not the originator of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8-15.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

Roman speech, but a very great orator, of the first rank as a forensic advocate; in other spheres he was inferior to some; in poetry, he was frigid; in translating Greek, not fortunate; what he would have been in other matters, is uncertain. If I have occasion to speak about marriage, whose principles are now very different from what they once were, and concerning which Cicero has handed down nothing that is remembered, shall I fear to read the words and opinions thereon of Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, the Bible, Tertullian, Jerome and Augustine, lest I seem too little of a Ciceronian¹?

Erasmus had purposes at heart which Ciceronianism tended to defeat. In the first place, he regarded Latin, in its written form at least, as a living language, not an idiom which perished with Cicero. In the next place, it was the depository of much knowledge which was sadly lacking in the world about him. And, again, Latin had a literature which could confer culture, as he had said during his early manhood in the pages of the *Antibarbari*. For all these purposes, and for others even more important, he wished to increase the number of its students, to whom he commended a doctrine of imitation which he thus describes.

I would not have an imitation which is fussy and servile, for that kind hinders one from doing what he would. Nor do I think that you should love Cicero to the extent of shrinking from everybody else. But all the best writers are to be read first and whatever is excellent in each should be extracted; for it is not necessary that you should make each of them a model in his entirety. Nor do I think that those authors should be condemned who do not much assist our diction, yet afford abundance of subject-matter, as Aristotle, Theophrastus, Pliny. Moreover, I would not have any one so given to the imitation of Cicero as to abandon the use of his own talents and, at the expense of health and life, pursue what he cannot attain, because his natural genius forbids. Not only so; I do not think that you should so strive to secure the praise accorded to one who employs a Ciceronian diction that you must neglect the liberal arts, which are most of all necessary².

In Erasmus's opinion, the cult of Ciceronian prose was a striving after what was useless as well as affected; but here he underrated the power of fashion. Two of the earliest Ciceronians, Bembo and Sadoleto, were papal secretaries under Leo X (1513-21);

¹ *Ciceronianus*, pp. 98-9.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 224-5. Compare W. H. Woodward, *Erasmus concerning Education*, pp. 58 ff.; Foster Watson, *Vives: on Education* (1531), chap. iv. "Imitation."

other members of the "sect" held similar offices in princes' courts and municipal bureaux. All over Europe the ability to write good Latin prose was a passport to official life and to what would to-day be called the higher civil service and diplomacy. Fashion, led by the Bembos and Sadoletos, decreed that good Latin meant Ciceronian Latin; and the schools proceeded to teach a very marketable accomplishment.

[The controversy respecting Ciceronianism was in fact a crucial one in the history, not only of classical education, but of all forms of school work. On the defeated side was ranged a sane humanism, desirous of assimilating what was best in the ancient literature in order to reform and fortify contemporary life; the victors included pedants who possessed no notion of an alembic which might transmute ancient into modern by means of a humanism common to both. The failure of Erasmus and his predecessors, Politian and Pico, to secure the adoption of their standpoint in the schools meant the triumph of the study of rhetoric as distinct from pure humanism, of language and modes of expression over literature, of form over content, a victory of grammar-books, phrase-books and similar compilations. The result was a new scholasticism, with Cicero for its Aristotle and St Thomas Aquinas, and the two classical literatures for its Bible. In consequence, the schools of Europe were diverted for generations from paths of knowledge in which humanists like Erasmus and Vives had wished to lead them.

During the fourteen hundreds, the Western students of Greek naturally pronounced that language as it was spoken by the Greeks who taught them; and in consequence there was approximately one standard for all Europe. But the critical temper of the new learning detected obvious discrepancies between the ancient language as written, and as spoken by contemporary Greeks. As Europe grew independent of native Greek teachers, these discrepancies became more irritating. Erasmus's treatise *On the correct pronunciation of Latin and Greek speech* (1528) was written in the hope of restoring the ancient pronunciation, particularly of Greek. He held that the Greek alphabet was phonetic, that its several symbols stood for distinct vowels and diphthongs, not to be rendered by the single vowel "i" alone (as in fifteenth-century Greek); he thought too that the existing pronunciation misrepres-

sented some of the ancient consonants. About the time of Erasmus's death (1536), Thomas Smith and John Cheke, teachers of Greek at Cambridge, introduced the Erasmian pronunciation there. Novelties of this kind soon fell under suspicion of an heretical tendency, and Bishop Gardiner, then (1542) Chancellor of the University, ordered a return to the established pronunciation, at the same time warning the adherents of the Erasmian speech that they were introducing the confusion of Babel. The new pronunciation finally superseded its predecessor in Elizabeth's reign. The principle which it in effect established was, that each country should pronounce Greek as it pronounced its own language: consequently the pronunciation of ancient Greek has followed the mutations of the several languages as these have taken place since the sixteenth century.

Frequent reference has been made above to the "*Carmen de Moribus*" which Lily wrote for his reformed Latin grammar. It formed a part of all subsequent editions, and English schoolboys of the nineteenth century were still expected to commit it to memory. It is an authoritative statement of duty and practice as conceived by schoolmasters during three centuries, and may on that ground claim a record in the present work. The following is a "construe" of the whole of its 86 lines, beginning, "*Qui mihi discipulus*¹."

Qui Mihi construed.

[The English only is here given: the original construes the Latin word by word.]

A poem of William Lily to his scholars concerning manners.

Child, who art my scholar and desirest to be taught, come hither, treasure up these sayings in your mind. Leave your bed betimes in the morning, shake off soft sleep, humbly go into the church [*templum*—St Paul's?] and worship God. But first of all, let your face be washed and your hands, let your garments be clean and your hair combed. When my school shall call you, be you there, avoiding sloth, have no excuse for loitering. When you shall see me, your master, salute me and your school-fellows, each in order. And see that you sit where I bid you sit, and stay in your place, unless you are commanded to

¹ From *Propria quae maribus, Quae genus, As in praesenti, Syntaxis, Qui mihi construed*. London, Buckley and Longman, 1786. These construes were in effect "cribs" for the use of beginners in the Eton Latin Grammar.

go thence. And as every one more excels in learning, so he shall sit in a higher seat. Let a pen-knife, quills, ink, paper, books be implements always ready for your studies. If I dictate anything, you shall write it down, but everything rightly; and let there be no blot or fault in your writings. But neither commit your dictates nor verses to loose papers, which should be written in books. Oftentimes repeat to yourself the things you have read and revolve them in your mind. If you doubt, ask sometimes these, sometimes others. He who doubts, who often asks questions will observe my precepts; he who doubts of nothing gets no good by them. Child, learn, I pray you; don't forget anything, lest a guilty conscience accuse you of sloth. And be attentive; for what will it profit you that I have taught you, if you don't print my words in your memory? Nothing is so hard which diligence cannot overcome; take pains, and the glory of your labours is obtained. For as the earth brings forth neither flowers nor seeds, unless it be tilled with continued labour of the hand; so a child, unless he often exercise his wit, will lose both his time and also the hope of his capacity (*ingenii*). Also an order is to be observed always in speech, lest too much talking disturb me. In getting your lesson, you shall speak with a low voice; when you say it to me, you shall speak aloud. And whatsoever things you repeat to me, let them be learned exactly, and, laying aside the book, rehearse every word. And let nobody prompt any word to you saying, which bringeth no small hurt to a child. If I ask anything, you shall endeavour so to answer that you may deserve praise and commendation by your words. You will not be commended for speaking too fast or too slow; the mean is a grace which 'tis best to keep; and, as often as you speak, that you speak in Latin, and avoid barbarous words as rocks. Besides, inform your companions as often as they shall ask you, and bring forward the ignorant to my desire (*ignaros ad mea vota trahe*). He who teaches the unlearned, though he were very unlearned, may be better learned than the rest in a short time. But don't you imitate silly pretenders to grammar (*stolidos grammaticastros*), the great disgrace of the Latin tongue; of whom there is none so foolish, or so barbarous in speech, whom the barbarous multitude don't approve as an author. If you will rightly know the laws of grammar, if you desire to learn to speak eloquently, learn the most celebrated writings of the ancients and the authors which the best Latinists (*turba Latina*) teach. Sometimes Virgil courts you, sometimes Terence himself, and sometimes the works of Cicero invite you. Whom [*quos*] he who hath not learned, hath seen nothing but dreams and striveth to live in gross ignorance (*in tenebris Cimmeriis*). There are some boys who delight to spend their time in trifles, laying aside the study of commendable virtue. There are others who take pleasure to molest their companions with

their hands, or feet, or any other way; there is another who, whilst he boasts himself of his noble family, reproaches others with their parentage in opprobrious language. I would not have you follow so bad patterns of manners, lest in the end you receive rewards worthy of your deeds. You shall give or sell nothing, you shall change or buy nothing; you shall receive no profit by the loss of another. And moreover leave money, the enticement to evil, to others; nothing but things free from abuse (*pura*) become a child. Let noise, contention, scoffings, lies, thefts, laughter, be far from you, and let fighting be avoided. You shall speak nothing at all which is filthy (*turpe*) or unhandsome; the tongue is the gate of life and of death also. Account it horrible wickedness to give ill words to any one or to swear by the sacred name of Almighty God. To conclude, you shall keep all your things and books, and shall carry them with you as often as you both go and return. Avoid even occasions of whatever things make you criminal (*nocentem*) and wherein you may displease me.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMATION

THE tumult aroused in the political world by the activities of Luther and the other Reformers tends to obscure the fact that, during the sixteenth century, a general intellectual ferment was working with extraordinary rapidity and manifesting itself in a variety of forms. That century gave birth to modern inductive science, to physics more particularly; it saw a new development of medicine and the allied sciences; modern astronomy dates from 1543, the year in which Copernicus made known his revolutionary theory of the solar system. It was the age of the great navigators and explorers. The national languages of Europe then attained to a self-consciousness unknown before, of which the national literatures are the tokens. There was a great development of the drama and of the fine arts; and the printing press was ready to disseminate ideas on a scale and with a readiness until then unattainable. More's *Utopia* (1516) is an early witness to the interest then felt in great political issues, which continued to be discussed throughout the century; the nature and limits of sovereign power formed a frequent theme of speculation, and modern democracy took concrete shape in response to the ideals, or to the practical conditions, of the new forms of church government.

In sum, the sixteenth century witnessed a complete change in the intellectual system of Europe; the subjects of thought and the modes of thinking which had satisfied most men during the greater part of a millennium had lost their power. The old order had become sterile, worn out; its collapse was inevitable. The new learning precipitated the crisis and in great measure determined the system which followed; but the intellectual revolution was effected far less by the classical revival than by the failure of scholasticism to satisfy the craving for further knowledge.

"Renaissance" and "Reformation" were but important episodes in a cataclysm, which was at bottom independent of both.

The Franciscans had declared that Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched; the epigram had even more point than Erasmus's disclaimer that, while he laid a hen's egg, Luther's progeny was something far different. Nevertheless, the movement initiated by Martin Luther in 1517 was a divergence, not only from the old learning, but also from the new; it cut across the cleavage of opinion between the scholastics and Christian humanists of the school of Erasmus, and it aroused a bitterness of feeling unknown to the earlier controversy. It was prejudice and confusion of thought which allowed the very term, "the new learning," to be applied indifferently to humanists and Lutherans, and to make it connote anti-catholicism. In point of fact, Luther was as much opposed to the spirit of humanism as to that of catholicism. And everywhere, perhaps especially in England and Scotland, the innovators in theology and ecclesiastical government were supported by the advocates of a variety of projects, social and political; evidence of the extent of intellectual unrest which prevailed.

The strong individualism of the new religious teaching soon gave rise to antagonisms within Protestantism itself; and the fishers in troubled waters found opportunity for personal profit in the active dissensions between Protestant and Catholic, Protestant and Protestant. These self-regarding schemers proved themselves especially harmful to education. In the more strictly educational province, the ecclesiastical revolution sadly interfered with the international comity of universities; it ceased to be true that learning knew no frontiers, and the all-dominating theological controversies accentuated the change. The aesthetic cultivation of the great mass of the people was impaired by the newly introduced austerity of public worship and by the removal, or destruction, of artistic treasures belonging to the churches. The iconoclasts without doubt removed many occasions of superstition; it is certain that they also diminished some incitements to devotion and closed at least one avenue of instruction. The glass windows, pictures, images and other symbolic furniture which the sixteenth century destroyed in the churches were instruments of that teaching by means of things and their tangible representations which the nineteenth century, led by Pestalozzi,

reintroduced as a novel evangel. François Villon (1431-1463?) has described the effect which these silent teachers often produced in unlettered minds, an effect none the less lasting because the joy of Heaven and the terror of Hell appeared in grossly material forms on the minster walls.

Femme je suis, povrette et ancienne,
Ne rien ne scay, oncques lettres ne leux;
Au moustier voy, dont suis paroissienne,
Paradis painct où sont harps et lux,
Et ung enfer où damnés sont boulluz.
L'ung me fait paour, l'autre joye et liesse¹.

The rough wood-blocks of the *Biblia Pauperum* gave similar instruction to the illiterate of the Reformed Churches.

A purely *a priori* reasoning has induced the opinion that an early consequence of the Reformation was a great extension of public instruction, particularly of the elementary kind. Since Protestantism attached the very highest importance to the exercise of private judgment directed to a vernacular Bible, it is sometimes assumed that elementary schools were forthwith created to attain that end. But this is to reckon without the parasites of royal courts, who found another destination for confiscated property. Neither Luther nor Knox² had in mind a national system of elementary schools; their purpose was to secure control of all schools and universities, and to make the requirements of clerical education dominate the courses of study. They were not peculiar in that respect. Their general intention was fully shared by their theological opponents; and the most conspicuous success in sixteenth-century education, that achieved by the Society of Jesus (founded, 1525-40), was neither in elementary education, nor on the Protestant side.

The popular education of the Reformation was given not so much in schools as from the pulpit and through Bible-reading. English public opinion was deeply affected by such translations as Tyndale's *New Testament* (1526) and the Genevan Bible of 1560; of the latter, no less than 150 editions appeared within

¹ "Ballade pour prier Notre Dame." The reference is due to M. Molina-Gutierrez.

² The proposals of Knox will be found in Jas. Grant's *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland*, 1876, pp. 76 ff.

fifty years from its first issue. Books such as these conveyed their teaching, not by the translated text alone, but perhaps even more effectively by the marginal annotations of the translators and editors. The teaching itself was that brought from Zurich and Geneva by the English exiles, and propagated by the many foreigners from Switzerland and Upper Germany who, as preachers and professors of theology, settled here during the reign of Edward VI. In character, it was Calvinistic and strongly politico-religious; its effect was to augment enormously the volume of the anti-catholic stream flowing from Wyclif, and to establish Puritanism as the political and theological system of thought of many Englishmen.

An immediate consequence was the outburst of fierce controversy, into the vortex of which the ablest minds of the day were drawn. The issues were, of course, of the first importance; but much of the argument which to-day seems barren, appeared to contemporary adherents of the classical revival as positively mischievous in its absorbing effect, and, owing to its sectarian tendency, incapable of effecting a reform of Christendom. The conception of a visible, universal church was shattered, just as the idea of a universal empire had been broken by the growth of nationalities. The ecclesiastical revolution was thus the first step towards general liberty of thought; but it was a very short step. It amounted to no more than this, that in Protestant regions it was permissible to deny the opinion which had been current for centuries, and, under very strict limitations, to hold a different opinion. But in itself the new doctrine was as intolerant of contradiction as was the old. The notorious statute of Henry VIII, passed in 1539 and commonly called the "Act of Six Articles," was officially "entituled An Act for abolishing of Diversity of Opinions." Under Edward VI, Joan Bocher and George van Paris were burned for their anti-Christian tenets; the one man of that day who laboured for toleration, the Protector Somerset, died on the scaffold, the victim of faction¹. Whether all the sufferers under Mary and Elizabeth are regarded simply as martyrs for religion, or whether their number is discounted by such as were active enemies of the government, the conclusion is unfavourable to any contemporary confidence in

¹ A. F. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*.

diversity of opinion. In the sixteenth century, religion was not one of those things which men regarded as incapable of social mischief when held at the discretion of the individual.

Later research has shown that the claim of Edward VI to rank as a great benefactor of public education must be very considerably modified; but it does not follow that he, or rather, his government, was indifferent respecting a matter which his contemporaries, both Protestant and Catholic, regarded as of great political significance. In continuance of a policy inaugurated by Henry VIII, it was determined in October, 1547, that

in every cathedrall churche wer no free grammar scole is foundid allredie within the cloase, nor haithe ony such scole ner unto hit adjoyning, foundid by any person, the king's majesty willethe that of the common lands and revenewes of the church shall be ordeyned, kepte and maynteaned perpetually a free grammer scole; the master to have yearlie twentie markes and his house rent free and the usher yearlie vi.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d. and his chamber free¹.

More generally, the *Injunctions* of the same year laid it down that

To the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend in benefices and other promotions of the Church an hundred pounds shall give competent exhibition to one scholar: and for so many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more shall he give like exhibition in the University of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar-school; which after they have profited in good learning may be partners of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise, in the execution of their offices, as may (when need shall be) otherwise profit the Commonweal with their council and wisdom².

The first intention of provisions such as these is expressed in principle in a sentence which occurs in the decrees of the Council of Trent:

¹ A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, p. 32.

² Anthony Sparrow, *A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions Ecclesiastical*, etc., 1675, p. 5. This direction was repeated in the selfsame words in the *Injunctions* of Mary (1559).

That disaster of the age, the evil of heresies which continue to increase in number, makes it imperative that nothing be left undone which may seem likely to touch the edification of the people and the defence of the Catholic faith¹;

in other words, the world must be established in orthodoxy. On that ground, public education was at different times a subject of discussion by the Council during its sessions, which extended from 1545 to the close of 1563. By a decision of the fifth session (June, 1546) the ancient ideal became a rule of practice, and all bishops were made responsible for the due provision of teaching in theology ("sacrae scripturae lectio"). Great churches of small income, where clerks are not numerous and theological teaching may not conveniently be had, must

at least have a master, chosen by the bishop with the advice of the chapter, who shall teach grammar to clergy and other poor scholars *gratis* so that, God approving, they may be able to pass thence to the study of theology².

At the final sitting (1563) it was decided

that the authorities of universities should cause the decrees of the Council to be accepted in their completeness, and that the masters and doctors of universities should teach and interpret by the rule of those decrees such things as are of the catholic faith, and that at the opening of every year they should by a solemn oath bind themselves to observe that ordinance³.

From this point of view, it was essential to secure the orthodoxy of the schoolmaster. Cardinal Pole, papal legate and archbishop of Canterbury (1556-8), relied upon the ancient jurisdiction of bishops, as the recognized local educational authorities, to secure this in England. By his Constitutions of Westminster (1557) a person who taught in school without the bishop's licence incurred the penalties of excommunication and three years' suspension from teaching⁴. The same policy was continued under Elizabeth. Her *Injunctions* of 1559 directed

¹ *Canones et Decreta . . . Concilii Tridentini*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 188.

² *Canones*, etc., p. 22.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁴ D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magn. Britanniae*, etc., 1737, vol. iv, p. 125; Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, p. 234.

that no man shall take upon him to teach but such as shall be allowed by the Ordinary [*i.e.* the bishop] and found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion: all teachers of children shall stir and move them to love and do reverence to God's true religion, now truly set forth by public authority¹.

The Canons of 1571 gave similar directions respecting schoolmasters, who were permitted to use no other Latin grammar than that prescribed by Henry VIII and his successors, and no other Catechism than that of 1570.

They shall teach other books from which a copious and pure Latin and Greek speech may be attained, and particularly those which lead to the knowledge and love of Christ. And once in each year they shall indicate to the bishop those whom they consider the best of all their pupils, who by native genius and progress in letters promise to become fitted for the public service or the sacred ministry, that parents may be more freely induced by such promise to educate their children in letters. And, chiefly, schoolmasters shall so instruct and shape the speech of the boys that these shall speak audibly, plainly and distinctly. And as often as there shall be a sermon, the masters shall send or themselves conduct the boys to church, that from their tender years up they be bred to piety and not to be negligent hearers. On their return to school, the master shall call them out one at a time for examination upon what they have learned from the sermon; and that their childish minds be the more stimulated to virtue and industry, the masters shall blame the lethargic and slothful but praise the diligent and attentive².

Under Elizabeth's Recusancy Act of 1580, a schoolmaster who taught without the bishop's licence, or who did not frequent the parish church, rendered himself liable to a year's imprisonment and disqualification for the office of teacher, while his employer was subject to a fine of £10 a month³.

Pole's *Constitutions* of 1557, already mentioned, ordered that to every English cathedral church should be attached a seminary for the education in grammar and ecclesiastical learning of a

¹ Anthony Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

² The clause, *Ludimagistri*, in "*Liber quorundam canonum disciplinae Ecclesiae Anglicanae ann. 1571*," in Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

³ See Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 526. The form of schoolmaster's licence issued in 1599 by Archbishop Whitgift is quoted by De Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 96.

certain number of boys destined to become priests. This provision of diocesan seminaries was made obligatory throughout the Catholic Church by the Council of Trent at its session of July, 1563¹. Pole would allow other boys than the future priests to attend the seminary, but under conditions which weakened any influence they might otherwise exert as a lay element. This segregation of the clergy from the general course of education followed by their fellow-countrymen was one of the hindrances to public education inflicted by the ecclesiastical changes of the sixteenth century. It was an injury similar in kind, though of course much less in extent, to that caused by the diversion of puritans and papists from English schools and universities to the schools and academies either of Geneva, Strasbourg and Zurich, or of Louvain or Rome, where they sought an education which was denied to them by Elizabeth's long series of penal laws.

Those repressive statutes may to-day be explained by provocation and political necessity, just as they were certainly sanctioned by the common opinion and practice of their time. But the maintenance of ecclesiastical uniformity by their means prolonged the discord they were meant to terminate, and left a legacy of trouble to generations more tolerant, or more indifferent, than their authors. So long as they were enforced, large numbers of Englishmen were cut off from their full participation in the national life, and some were driven, at a most impressionable age, to share an alien culture.

The earliest consequences of the unrest prevailing in Germany and in England were distinctly unfavourable to education as it was then conducted. In 1531 so distinguished a teacher of Greek as Melanchthon deplored the inability of Homer and Demosthenes to attract learners. With two or three exceptions, the universities throughout the German-speaking lands suffered an abnormally heavy fall in the number of students in residence; and a similar depression afflicted the schools². Erasmus found the explanation in the obscurantist character of the new teaching itself: "Wherever Lutheranism prevails, down go the liberal arts." Other critics saw the cause of the paralysis of learning in the contempt with which many regarded the clergy, who were the accredited representatives

¹ *Canones, ut supra*, pp. 140 ff.

² F. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, vol. I. pp. 189 ff.

of higher education¹. During the last years of Henry VIII and throughout the reign of Edward VI the number of residents at Oxford and Cambridge was unusually low². The unsatisfactory condition of schools and universities was a frequent theme of Hugh Latimer's when addressing wealthy or powerful congregations. In the first of his Lenten sermons preached before the King in 1549, he finds the cause in the fact that, owing to the action of the new landlords, the moderately well-to-do had become poor, and the poor poorer, so that they were unable to keep their sons at school, and "indeed universities do wondrously decay already." In the preceding January, he had told the Londoners at St Paul's that, while their predecessors maintained scholars at Cambridge, "now charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar, nor yet the poor"; four years later he told a Lincolnshire congregation that schools were being robbed by those who should have maintained them³.

There were many reasons for the depressed condition of public education; in addition to those stated by Latimer and other preachers, there must be included the general unrest of a time which was conspicuously transitional, parental distrust of the new learning and of the new theology, the disabilities placed by legislation upon religious opinion and the uncertainty respecting the ultimate fate of the universities. The confiscation of monastic property had prepared men's minds for the possibility of a like treatment of colleges.

At Cambridge, during the period of depression, the poorer "unattached" student disappeared and the colleges became the resort of aristocratic and wealthy young men, whose prime object was not learning⁴. A similar increase of wealthy pupils is noted at Eton soon after the dissolution of the monasteries⁵. "More than one or two" of the commissioners who elected boys to the King's School, Canterbury, in 1540,

would have none admitted but sons or younger brethren of gentlemen. As for other, husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said,

¹ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 f.

² J. Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, etc., vol. II. pp. 88 ff.; H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford*, etc., p. 483.

³ *Sermons by Hugh Latimer* (Parker Society, 1844), pp. 102, 65, 349.

⁴ J. B. Mullinger, *ut supra*.

⁵ Lyte, *History of Eton College*, p. 161.

for the plough and to be artificers than to occupy the place of the learned sort. . . . It was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation, and the gentleman's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the commonwealth; for we have as much need of ploughmen as of any other state; all sorts of men may not go to school.

The majority of the commissioners, led by Archbishop Cranmer, negatived this proposal as both unjust and impolitic; it was "as much as to say that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person," and to ignore the fact that many of the "best born children" are "very dull and without all manner of capacity" and, unlike the children of the poor, without stimulus to painstaking¹.

The intimate connexion between the religious commemoration of the dead and educational institutions of all kinds, which had steadily grown during the Middle Ages, was the occasion of a most serious disturbance and loss to English education during the sixteenth century². Driven by want of money, Henry followed up the confiscation of monastic property with an Act (1545) for "the dissolution of Colleges, Chantries and Free Chapels at the King's pleasure." Although this Act was apparently enforced in but few cases, it created a precedent which threatened the property of Oxford, Cambridge, Winchester, Eton and innumerable chantries which, by custom or express foundation, added school-teaching to their religious obligation. The Chantries Act of Edward VI (1547) was intended by its framers, on their own showing, to remove a great occasion of superstition and to convert the forfeited property "to good and godly uses, as in erecting of grammar schools, the further augmenting of the universities and better provision for the poor and needy." Oxford, Cambridge, Winchester, Eton and other foundations were exempted from its provisions, and vested pecuniary interests were to be considered.

Henry VIII had added to the schools of the country, or increased the resources of those already existing, by requiring

¹ Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 470, quoting Strype's *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, bk. I, chap. xxiii.

² On the whole subject, see A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1546-8, and *Educational Charters*, pp. xliii ff.; A. F. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, pp. 122 ff.

(1540) the cathedral establishments which replaced the dissolved greater monastic communities to maintain grammar schools. His son's first interference with chantries was to order "that all chantry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners and other virtuous exercises"—a direction included in the *Injunctions* which preceded the Chantries Act.

The intention of the legislation of 1547 was not mere spoliation. Bishop Gardiner approved its general purpose: "I that allow Mass so well and I that allow praying for the dead . . . yet can agree with the realm in the matter of putting down chantries." The number of chantry priests (reckoned by Professor Pollard at about two thousand in a population of two millions) who were pensioned under the Act and the anxiety displayed by such men as Archbishop Rotherham¹ in reference to the daily life of stipendiary priests whose duties were few and whose benefices were small, lead to the inference that abuses easily gathered about the chantries.

But effect was given to the intention by two separate commissions, the first being one of inquiry only. The second commission consisted of two officials who were conscious that the State treasury was well-nigh bankrupt. They worked hurriedly and upon bureaucratic principles; often they gave no heed to the directions of the first commission that further order should be taken for the continuance and maintenance of useful foundations. Towns and corporations with interest at Court bought back from the Crown estates which supported schools, repaired roads and bridges or discharged other public services in addition to their religious duties. In the case of schools so favoured, it was frequently made a condition that the king should be described as the founder from the date of the re-transfer of the estate. Existing grammar schools connected with chantries were to be maintained, if the connexion was expressed in the original foundation; a merely customary connexion was ignored and schools in this position were suppressed automatically. Where the schools were recognized and ordered to be continued, the practice (unless powerful interests or large sums of ready money intervened) was to return to the

¹ See p. 87 above.

school, not its equitable proportion of the landed estate, but an annual payment of the sum which it yielded in 1548. Thus the schools had no advantage from the increase in values which subsequently accrued. A sum of ten pounds, adequate in that year, dwindled in purchasing power till it became a quite inadequate pittance or entirely disappeared.

Many of the confiscated estates were sold to private purchasers to defray military and naval charges; but these private buyers did not as a matter of course feel bound to maintain the schools or other public services formerly supported by the purchased estate. It was in truth a new England into which the new learning and the new ecclesiasticism had entered. The feudal nobles were being replaced by men whose wealth had been acquired in commercial or industrial competition, the opportunity for which had been vastly increased during the fifteenth century. These new men, when they acquired estates, administered them on the principles which had built up their own fortunes. They ignored, so far as was possible, the obligations which lay upon the former landlords; they made enclosures, turned arable land into pasture and, in consequence, very greatly diminished the demand for labour. Prices went up as the opportunity of earning wages went down; acute distress was rife throughout agricultural England in the early years of Edward VI, whose predecessor had left him a depleted treasury with which to confront foreign embarrassments and domestic discontent. It is therefore not surprising to discover that the English revolutionaries in theology were associated with social and political revolutionaries, or that self-seeking adventurers allied themselves to these different groups.

A most outspoken critic of the manner in which the transfer of church property had been frequently conducted was Thomas Lever, fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, who was appointed to preach three times in London during the year 1550. On the first occasion, he complained of the malversation of funds intended by the Government for the relief of the poor and the maintenance of education. His second sermon, preached before King Edward, treated the topic still more pointedly, with particular examples of a school (Sedbergh) and some milk-charities which had been robbed in this way. The third sermon, preached at Paul's Cross at the close of the year, stated his complaint very fully. It is

gratifying to know that Lever's plain-speaking did not hinder his preferment.

This last discourse contains a graphic allusion to university life in the mid-sixteenth century. Lever desired to make the point that the good intentions of the Government were being nullified by corrupt dealing on the part of its officers and hangers-on. He recalled how Henry in 1540 instituted at both Universities the regius professorships of divinity, civil law, physick, Hebrew and Greek, the stipend in each case being fixed at forty pounds *per annum*. He did not add that the Dean and Chapter of Westminster were charged with the duty of finding the money. In 1546, Henry had founded Trinity College, Cambridge, on a scale of unusual splendour, and at other times he had shown his good will to learning.

By the whyche euerye man maye perceyue that the kynge geuyng manye thynges and takynge nothings from the universityes was very desirous to have them increased and amended. Howbeit all they that have knowen the universitye of Cambrige sence that tyme that it dyd fyrst begynne to receyve these greate and manyefolde benefytes from the kynges maiestye, at youre handes, have juste occasion to suspecte that you haue deceyved boeth the kynge and universitie, to enryche youre selves. For before that you did beginne to be the disposers of the kinges liberalitie towardes learnyng and poverty, there was in houses belongynge unto the unyversytye of Cambrige, two hundred studentes of dyvynyte, manye verye well learned: whyche bee now all clene gone, house and manne, young towarde scholers, and old fatherlye Doctors, not one of them lefte: one hundred also of an other sorte that, havynge rych frendes or beyng benefyced men, dyd lyve of theym selves in Ostles and Innes be eyther gon awaye, or elles fayne to crepe into Colleges, and put poore men from bare lyvynge. Those bothe be all gone, and a small number of poore godly dylygent studentes now remaynyng only in Colleges be not able to tary and contynue theyr studye in the universitye for lack of exhibicion and healpe. There be dyvers ther whych ryse dayly betwixte foure and fyve of the clocke in the mornynge, and from fyve untill syxe of the clocke use common prayer wyth an exhortacion of gods worde in a commune chappell, and from sixe unto ten of the clocke use ever eyther pryvate study or commune lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dynner, whereas they be contente with a penyce pyece of byefe amongst iiij, havynge a fewe porage made of the brothe of the same byefe, wyth salte and otemell, and nothyng els. After thys slender dinner they be either teachynge or learnynge untill V

of the clocke in the evenyng, when as they have a supper not much better than theyr dyner. Immedyatellye after the whyche, they go eyther to reasonyng in problemes or unto some other studye, untill it be nyne or tenne of the clocke, and there beyng wythout fyre are fayne to walk or runne up and downe halfe an houre, to gette a heate on their feete whan they go to bed. . . . Loke whether that there was not a greate number of both lerned and pore that myght have ben kepthe, mayntayned and relyeved in the universities: whych lackyng all healpe or comfote, were compelled to forsake the universitye, leve their bokes, and seke theyr lyvyng abroad in the country? Yea and in the cuntrey manye Grammer Scholes founded of a godly intent to brynge up poore mennes sonnes in learnyng and vertue, nowe be taken awaye by reason of the gredye covetousnes of you that were put in trust by God and the kyng to erecte and make grammer scholes in manye places: And had neyther commaundement nor permission to take awaye the scholmasters lyvyng in anye place. . . . Take hede unto the kynges statutes, the actes of parliament, there ye shall fynde that the Nobles and commons do geve, and the Kyng doth take into hys handes Abbeyes, Colleges and Chauntries for erectyng of Gramer scholes, the godly brynging up of youthe, the farther augmentyng of the unyversytyes, and better provisyon for the poore. Thys shall ye fynd in the Actes of parliament, in the Kynges statutes: but what shalbe found in your practyse and in your dedes? Surely the pullyng downe of gramer scholes, the devylishe drownynge of youthe in ignoraunce, the utter decaye of the universities, and mooste uncharitable spoyle of provysyon, that was made for the pore¹.

In the majority of instances, in which the foundation of a school is ascribed to Edward VI, the statement merely means that his government, for a consideration, continued a customary annual payment out of the confiscated estate, or, less frequently, returned the estate itself, sometimes on the express condition that the King should be described as the founder of the trust. Something very like this happened in the case of so "Edwardian" a foundation as Christ's Hospital. A few days before his death, Henry VIII by letters patent granted to the Corporation of London the house and church of the dissolved Grey Friars, for the relief of the poor and to provide for public worship, on the understanding that the citizens would contribute the funds necessary for maintenance. This was part of a big scheme for

¹ "Thomas Lever, Sermons, 1550." (Arber's *English Reprints*, 1895), pp. 121 ff.

assisting the poor and the needy sick of London. The collection of money went on through Edward's reign and in 1552 a levy was imposed on the citizens, to which every man was contributory. In November of that year, the house was ready for occupation and the children, of whom there were over three hundred, were admitted to residence.

For these sortes of poore were provided three severall houses, first for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the beggers childe, and is in deede the seede and breeder of beggery, they [the citizens' committee] provided the house that was the late Graie Fryers in London, and nowe is called Christes Hospitall, where the poore children are trayned in the knowlege of God and some vertuous exercise, to the overthrow of beggery¹.

By letters patent of June 26, 1553, ten days before Edward's death, the scheme was regularized, and it was directed that Christ's Hospital, Bridewell (which had become a House of Correction for idlers and vagrants) and St Thomas's Hospital should henceforth be called "the hospitals of King Edward the Sixth²." Thus Edward's part in the foundation of the famous school was limited to approving the deeds of his father and of the London citizens, and investing the result with his own name.

The two universities naturally felt the full force of the distraction which was rife in the sixteenth century. Luther's books were publicly burned at Oxford and at Cambridge in 1521; but before that date there were Lutherans at Cambridge. Want of orthodoxy had never before been laid to the charge of the latter university; but she now became the means of transmitting the new teaching to her elder sister. In 1525, Wolsey incorporated in his new Cardinal College at Oxford eight Cambridge men to form the nucleus of the teaching body; six of these men were adherents of the new theology. The consequence was that in 1528, Wolsey was occupied in the prosecution of "perilous men," "pernicious heretics," at Oxford, some of whom were members of his own foundation³. Of the ten most prominent Marian martyrs recorded

¹ Richard Grafton's *A Chronicle at large . . . to the first yere of . . . Elizabeth*, 1569, p. 1322.

² See J. G. Nichols, preface to the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*. Camden Society. 1852.

³ J. Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge . . . to 1535*, pp. 604 ff.; H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford . . . to . . . 1530*, pp. 457 ff.

by Foxe, eight were Cambridge graduates, the number including Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and John Rogers, the first of them all to suffer.

The unsavoury business of Henry VIII's divorce from Queen Catharine was one of those occasions upon which the two universities suffered for their close association with the national life. The King appealed to their judgment ostensibly as to that of great authorities upon canon law; the difficulty which he found in securing from them a plain statement in favour of his own contention, and the general recalcitrancy of the younger Masters of Arts in particular, reflected the prevalent opinion of the majority of Englishmen. But by a combination of bullying, bribery and the "packing" of committees, a colourable justification for the divorce was obtained. After Wolsey's fall, his great Oxford foundation, Cardinal College, then in course of realization, was despoiled (1529) and the nascent Ipswich foundation was uprooted in the following year; it was not till 1545 that Henry's foundation of Christ Church replaced Cardinal College.

But before the suppression of any of the monasteries the King had taken measures to bring the universities within the scope of his absolute rule. The Royal Injunctions of 1535 were meant to mark very definitely the passing of the mediaeval system and to assert independence of papal jurisdiction. In token of the latter it was forbidden to teach or to grant degrees in canon law. The lectures in scholastic theology were to be replaced by divinity lectures on the Bible and Aristotle; modern text-books were to oust the mediaeval manuals and compilations. The Colleges were required to maintain for the benefit of the whole University two daily lectures, one Greek, the other Latin. At Oxford the Royal Commissioners made wanton destruction of the old libraries and boasted of their vandalism to the Vicar-General himself.

The transfer of power and of functions from the university body to its constituent colleges, which is implied in these Injunctions of 1535, was a process which had been going on since the time when colleges began to be wealthy and privileged corporations. It is illustrated in the first statutes (1552) of Trinity College, Cambridge, a foundation dating from the last weeks of Henry's life. The presence in the universities of young men of wealth and birth in increasing numbers and the concurrent falling-

off in the number of senior residents and poor students, which marked the middle of the century, still further augmented the power of the colleges at the expense of the general body. The public exercises, which marked stages in the progress to a degree, became formalities only, and professorial lectures ceased to be attended; the college tutors provided the requisite teaching. The change meant a diminution in professional studies in favour of what would be termed to-day "general education"; that is, the universities tended more and more to become places of education, rather than organizations for the advancement of professional instruction, such as they had been in their origin. Under Elizabeth, the universities were finally subordinated to the colleges, while both the national position of Oxford and Cambridge and their amenability to Parliamentary control were affirmed by an Act of 1571, which constituted them corporate bodies, whose existing possessions and privileges were fully safeguarded.

The return of the Marian exiles in the early years of Elizabeth's reign involved Cambridge in even more acrimonious disputes than she had yet suffered. Their foreign education seems to have added an element of narrow fanaticism that would not tolerate the moderate measures of change which, as events proved, satisfied the majority of their home-bred fellow-countrymen. Matters reached a crisis when the new revolutionary doctrines were taught by Thomas Cartwright, who had been appointed Lady Margaret professor of divinity in 1569. He was deprived of his chair in the following year, and the new university statutes, which then received the royal assent, put an end to all activity within the university which was inimical to the Church of England. In 1581, Oxford, at the instigation of its chancellor, the earl of Leicester, introduced the test of subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, requiring every matriculant above the age of sixteen to affirm adhesion to the teaching of those Articles and to the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy in religion. In the same year, an Act of Parliament was passed which visited with a very heavy and cumulative fine the employment of a schoolmaster who did not frequent the parish church, or who did not hold the bishop's licence to teach; a schoolmaster who taught without possessing these qualifications was liable to one year's imprisonment and deprivation of office. Henceforth, puritanism became a separatist religion.

On the other hand, an increasing number of Catholic Englishmen found it impossible to maintain loyalty to their convictions amidst the conditions of Protestant education. At first, these men resorted to Louvain; but before the century closed there were colleges for Englishmen at Douai, Rheims, Valladolid, Seville and St Omer, all being seminaries for missionary priests whose aim it was to bring England back to the papal allegiance. Of these, the most noted was the English College at Douai which was founded in 1568 by William Allen, a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, from which university its first students were mainly drawn.

Nothing useful is to be attained by any attempt to apportion the blame for the hampering of the national life and education which these dissensions involved. But it is only fair to those who effected the compromise known as the Elizabethan settlement to suggest that they carried the majority of Englishmen with them. Time-serving sycophancy is an easy explanation of the repeated changes of ecclesiastical or theological opinion acquiesced in, or professed, by such men as Cecil in the political, and Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse, in the academical world. But there were multitudes of such men in sixteenth-century England; and, in all probability, their one desire was to be allowed to go about their daily business, untroubled by the changes urged upon them by extremists on either side. This was a temper hateful to papist and puritan alike. Foxe, the martyrologist, naïvely expresses this aversion when commenting upon the death of "our young Josias," Edward VI.

The condition of this realme, and the customable behaviour of English people (whose propertie is commonly to abuse the lighte of the Gospell when it is offered) deserve no such benefit of so blessed a reformation, but rather a contrarye plague of deformation, such as hapned after his raigne.

But even the acrimonious debates of Elizabeth's early reign had a positive part in the national education. The controversies turned very largely upon questions of church government, and consequently exercised the participants in political thinking, and habituated them to ideas which found material shapes in the age which followed.

The formal curriculum in Arts precedent to the first degree at this period comprised rhetoric, logic and some rather perfunctory

attention to the branches of philosophy; the absorbing interest of the seniors was controversial theology, as already said. The enthusiasm of the classical revival found but a feeble echo in the study of Greek, which occupied an unstable position. When Sir Thomas Pope (1507?-1559) projected the foundation (1555) of Trinity College, Oxford, Cardinal Pole urged greater attention to the study of Greek; Pope's reply was:

I like the purpose well, but I fear the times will not bear it now. I remember when I was a young scholar at Eton the Greek tongue was growing apace, but the study of it of late is much decayed.

At Cambridge, in 1586, it was said that the language was "then almost lost and forgot in this society¹," St John's College, the former home of Cheke and Ascham.

Yet the number of residents at Oxford and Cambridge rose rapidly during Elizabeth's reign, and the colleges grew in wealth, partly from increased private benefactions, partly of course from the general advance of national prosperity, and largely as the result of improved finances, consequent upon Sir Thomas Smith's Act of 1575, which caused college rents to go up as corn advanced in price. It is significant of a growing and wide-spread interest in higher education at this period, that Edinburgh University (1582) and Trinity College, Dublin (1592), were founded on the initiative and very largely through the benefactions of the municipal authorities and leading citizens. The College of Edinburgh was modelled upon Calvin's Academy at Geneva², the town council and the local (presbyterian) ministers in both cases forming the body which appointed the teachers. In 1575, a wealthy London merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham, bequeathed his "palace-like house" in Bishopsgate to the Corporation and to the Mercers' Company to be the home of a college which he proposed to endow. The bequest took effect in 1596 in the establishment of Gresham College ("which is an Epitome of an University by it selfe")³ and its seven professors of divinity, civil law, physic [*i.e.*, medicine], rhetoric, astronomy, geometry and music. Of the nine "Public

¹ J. E. B. Mayor, Thos. Baker, *The History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, vol. I. p. 180.

² See chap. IX. below.

³ Sir George Buck, *The Third Universitie of England* [*i.e.* the City of London], 1613.

Schools" (using the name in its now accepted conventional sense) five are commonly regarded as of late sixteenth-century origin, viz. Shrewsbury 1552, Westminster 1560, Merchant Taylors' 1561, Rugby 1567, and Harrow 1571. But the last-named school did not come into existence till after the death, in 1608, of the widow of the founder, John Lyon. The ninth Public School, Charterhouse, dates from 1612.

Casual references to the education of the poor, found at this period in municipal records, show how some grammar schools extended the scope of their instruction and multiplied their usefulness to the community at large. Thus, the churchwardens of St Olave's, Southwark, speaking of their Free School in 1561, say:

We have great number of poor people in our parish who are not able to keep their children at grammar. But we are desirous to have them taught the principles of Christian Religion and to write, read and cast accompts, and so to put them forth to prentice¹.

Similarly, at Beverley, Yorkshire, in 1562-3, the common expenses of the grammar school included twelve shillings paid to the grammar school master (*ludimagister*) for teaching a poor boy².

In 1613 . . . it is recorded that the [Hackney] vestry appointed a schoolmaster, who was to take no more than 4*d.* a week from parishioners' children learning grammar, writing or accounts, nor more than 2*d.* a week for children learning English only³.

Leach quotes from the Beverley accounts just cited:

They agreed the same day [in 1572] that the Governors shall appoint one Maister for to teach pettyes in this Borow; and to have 53*s.* 4*d.* allowed; and the Grammar Schole maister to be no more charged with teaching pettyes.

These pettyes were ostensibly being prepared to take the grammar-school curriculum in due course; no doubt some, possibly many, never got so far, but were satisfied by instruction merely primary. These Beverley accounts exhibit the actual evolution of a purely elementary school, separated by place and teaching from its origin, the grammar school.

About a dozen records ranging in date from 1609 to 1689 (though most of them belong to the days of Charles II or James II)

¹ Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, p. 150.

² A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, vol. 1. p. 118.

³ De Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Schools*, p. 192.

show that in different parts of England grammar schools were founded which were charged with making some provision for elementary instruction. The most conspicuous instance is that of Charterhouse, founded 1612, whose statutes make evident the strictly subordinate and utilitarian purpose of the innovation.

It shall be [the master's] care and the usher's charge to teach the scholars to cypher and cast an accompt, especially those that are less capable of learning and fittest to be put to trades.

At Chigwell, Archbishop Harsnet founded in 1629 two schools, each with its own master,

that the children and youth of adjoining parishes should be in one of the said schools taught to read, write, cypher and cast accompts, and to learn their accidence, and in the other school-house to be instructed in the Latin and Greek tongues.

The statement implies that, while a purely elementary instruction in English was provided by the first-named school, some, at least, of its pupils would pass on to the grammar school and, therefore, were taught the Latin accidence. But the provision of Latin rudiments in the Petty School did harm to the majority of the pupils who never reached, or intended to reach, the school above. As late as 1707 James Talbott, writing in *The Christian School-master* of this feature of the Petty Schools, says that "by a vulgar error" some Latin grammar

has been esteemed very necessary to the education even of the meanest children, insomuch that scarce any husbandman will venture to take his son from the school to the plow, till he has got some smattering in this language.

The Rotherham School accounts for the year 1635 contain the entry: "Item glasse for the Petty Schoole, 8d.¹" The master at that time was Charles Hoole, a fact which tempts one to assume that this "petty school" was held in a separate room, if not in a separate building².

Mr Leach alludes to the foundation at Henley in Arden in 1586 of a school for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic to thirty children, and to the establishment by a Northamptonshire

¹ Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, vol. II. p. 210.

² See *The Petty-Schoole* in Hoole's *A New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching Schoole*, 1660, edited by E. T. Campagnac, Liverpool, 1913.

rector in 1620 of four schools for teaching reading¹. Carlisle quotes from an Act of Parliament of 1778 the statement that

Dame Elizabeth Periam about the year of Our Lord 1609 founded and endowed a Charity School in Henley upon Thames, for the education in writing, reading and casting accounts (*but not in grammar learning*), clothing and apprenticing twenty poor boys of the said town².

¹ *Educational Charters*, p. xlvii.

² *Endowed Grammar Schools*, vol. II. p. 307.

CHAPTER IX

LUTHER, STURM, CORDIER

MARTIN LUTHER (1483-1546) exercised a very much greater influence upon German education by his personality and by some of his popular writings than through any institutions which he established. The responsibility of the State for public instruction was a favourite theme, which more than once led him to make special pronouncements upon the subject¹. In the "Sermon on Married Life" he exhorted parents to give their children a good education as a means of acquiring merit for themselves and reforming Christendom. In the address "To the Christian Aristocracy of the German Nation," he advised a partial employment of Aristotle as a training ground for speaking and preaching; but he would banish the Aristotelian philosophy and the scholastic theology, replacing them by the Bible and in particular by the Pauline epistles. (Indeed, the Apostle became a new Aristotle for the German Reformers.) "And would to God that every town had a girls' school, in which the little maids might hear the Gospel for an hour daily, whether in German or Latin." Luther wrote in 1524 an open letter "To the Burgomasters and Town-councillors of all German cities, urging them to establish and maintain schools," a letter which Paulsen described as a signal of distress, called forth by the abrupt decline of schools which had become general since the beginning of the ecclesiastical revolution². Men are mistaken who suppose that schools are only required by those who are

¹ Luther's educational policy is declared in the following tractates: *Sermon vom ehelichen Leben*, 1519; *Schrift an den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, 1520; *An die Bürgermeister und Ratsherren aller Städte deutsches Lands, dass sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und erhalten sollen*, 1524; *Sermon an die Prediger, dass sie die Leute ermahnen ihre Kinder zur Schule zu halten*, 1530.

² Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, vol. I. p. 197.

to be priests, monks or nuns, and that it is sufficient if the German Bible can be read; the liberal arts are needed as a training for worldly affairs, and "where the Tongues do not persist, there at last the Gospel must come to nothing."

The best of schools should be instituted in all places, both for boys and girls, . . . that men may be well able to rule land and people, and that women may know well how to rear children and to order house and servants.

Mathematics and music should be added to the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Luther thought that one or two hours' schooling daily would suffice for such a programme; boys and girls might devote the remainder of the day to domestic or other manual work. Schools and public libraries should be maintained by the magistracy as an integral part of the municipal service; the private resources of parents are inadequate for these important objects.

The distracted condition of Germany in the period immediately following 1524 made questions of educational improvement of subordinate interest, and of corresponding difficulty of realization. The conflagration of the Peasants' War and the hostile leagues of Protestant and Catholic princes caused Luther's educational pamphlets to wear an incongruous air at that time. Yet it was in circumstances not very dissimilar that, more than a century later, Ernest the Pious built up a stable system of public education in his duchy; but the Saxon duke possessed a statesmanlike sympathy with the mass of his people that was wanting in Luther and his associates¹.

It is therefore not surprising that these particular tractates bore small immediate fruit, or that in 1530 Luther's "Sermon to the Preachers" was still called for "to admonish the people to keep their children at school." The author here propounded the doctrine of compulsory education as a measure essential to the good of the State.

Luther's office of popular educator was discharged by his translation of the Bible (1521-34), his German Hymn-book (1524) and Little Catechism (1529). The first laid the foundation of modern German literature; the last gave a vogue to stereotyped schemes of question and answer, particularly for the purpose of

¹ See Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education*, pp. 93 ff.

religious instruction. English divines compiled the Church Catechism and the Shorter Catechism, and the popularity of these manuals encouraged the extension of the plan to other branches of knowledge. As a rule, the religious catechism was an admirable summary of the dogmas it was thought that children should learn, and much could be done with it in the hands of a skilful teacher. But catechisms belonged to an age when skilful teachers of young children were not common; consequently, "teaching the catechism" too often meant compelling children to learn by rote the *ipsissima verba* of the books, and leaving their comprehension to take care of itself.

Luther was also the author of a kind of primer, the *Booklet for Laymen and Children* (1525), which contained the alphabet, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the numerals from 1 to 10, and a multiplication table. He translated into German a number of fables from Aesop.

Melanchthon (Philip Schwarzerd), "Preceptor Germaniae," (1497-1560), Professor of Greek at Wittenberg from 1518 till his death, exercised a potent influence upon German higher education by means of the text-books which he wrote, by his recommendations respecting the organization of universities and schools, and above all through the large number of his distinguished pupils who themselves became professional educators. He is sometimes described as the founder of the German Gymnasium; but, if we are to go back as far as the sixteenth century for the prototype of the German classical school of to-day, we shall discover it in the much more elaborately organized Strasbourg Gymnasium of Johann Sturm¹ (1507-89).

Sturm's later school-days (1521-4) were spent at Liège in St Jerome's, an establishment of the Brethren of the Common Life; the organization of this school was the model on which he subsequently based that of the Strasbourg Gymnasium. From Liège he passed to the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain, where his

¹ See Charles Schmidt, *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*, 1855; T. Ziegler's article "Sturm" in Rein's *Encyclopädie. Handbuch der Pädagogik*, vol. ix.; and Paulsen, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 282 ff. Quick (*Essays on Educational Reformers*) and C. S. Parker, whom he quotes, were singularly unjust to Sturm as a man. Sturm was no snobbish pedant, but a liberal-minded man of affairs, who sacrificed much in the interests of religious peace; in the end, he was the victim of theological pedants.

admiration for the writings of Cicero became pronounced. Sturm spent five years at Louvain as student, as teacher and as worker for the printers; continental presses were then busy with the production of classical authors and similar books, and very many scholars of that day eked out a livelihood by correcting for the press. In 1529, Sturm went to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of Budé and other prominent persons, taught dialectic and lectured on Cicero and Demosthenes. In 1536 he was called by the Municipality to teach rhetoric and dialectic at Strasbourg; at that time he was described as "much addicted to Cicero." Alsace and the Upper Rhineland generally was an especially promising sphere of labour for a humanist at that date; and this was particularly true of the free city of Strasbourg. The new learning and the new theological teaching had been welcomed, the country had produced many native scholars, there were famous printing presses in its cities and the authorities were proud of their educational institutions and anxious to improve them. Strasbourg possessed both German (*i.e.* elementary) and Latin schools, and there was the nucleus of a university in the instruction given by the Canons of St Thomas. The magistrates thought that the teaching above the primary stage would be better if it were concentrated in one institution, and they invited Sturm in 1538 to become Rector of this new foundation, a position which he occupied till 1581.

Sturm was not a schoolmaster, and his educational work was, so far as schools were concerned, that of the organizer and administrator. His experience of teaching was that of a university professor, and his fame as a Ciceronian rhetorician brought him into the region of world-politics. As a diplomat, he served Denmark, France and the Empire; in 1572 he acted as one of the "observatores," or foreign agents, of Queen Elizabeth. In those early days of the great separation of Christendom, he helped in the negotiations between Catholic and Protestant, and between the discordant bodies into which Protestantism became divided; here Sturm laboured for unity and peace. His enemies in Strasbourg did not allege that these public duties and frequent absence interfered with his duty as Rector of the Gymnasium; but his hostility to sectarianism led to his dismissal from office in 1581. The Strasbourg pastors brought a charge against him which it was impossible to refute; he had attained "a great age."

A report¹ to the Governors of the Schools of Strasbourg, which Sturm drew up on his appointment, was elaborated by him and published in 1538 under the title "The Right Mode of Instituting Schools" [*De litterarum ludis recte aperiendis*]². This work belongs to the history of educational opinion rather than to the history of education. But even the opinions of a man so influential in the practical sphere as Sturm must be reckoned with in the sphere of "fact." He is here describing a counsel of perfection which his school never realised; but the underlying purpose of the *De litterarum ludis* was identical with that of the Strasbourg Gymnasium. Ostensibly, this was the compromise between Humanism and historical Christianity which is summed up in the formula "pietas litterata"; "the end of study, as we pursue it, is a wise and eloquent piety"³. But the Christian Latin poets who were proposed by Colet to be read at St Paul's fail to appear in the Strasbourg lists; nor are they found in the mid-sixteenth-century curricula of Winchester, Eton or Westminster.

The method of studying the classical authors, which was practised by Sturm and followed by most schools in his day and long after, consisted in noting the manner in which the general rules of rhetoric were applied by writers of the first rank, and then writing passages in imitation. Ascham, in the *Scholemaster* (1570), has several references to this sequence in teaching—rules, examples, imitative exercises. For example:

It came into my head that a verie profitable booke might be made *de Imitatione*, after an other sort than ever yet was attempted of that matter, conteyning a certaine fewe fitte preceptes, unto the which should be gathered and applied plentie of examples, out of the choisest authors of both the tonges. This worke would stand rather in good diligence for the gathering and right judgement for the apte applying of those examples, than any great learning or utterance at all⁴. Whan M. Watson in S. Johns College at Cambridge wrote his excellent *Tragedie of Absalon*, M. Cheke, he and I, for that part of trew Imitation, had

¹ See G. Bonet Maury, *De Opera Scholastica Fratrum Vitae Communis*, etc., appendix.

² R. Vormbaum, *Evangelische Schulordnungen*, Gütersloh, 1858, vol. 1. pp. 653 ff.

³ *De litt. ludis*, chap. x.

⁴ *The Scholemaster*, bk. II. Optima ratio Imitationis. The English Works of Roger Ascham (1904), p. 274.

many pleasant talks together in comparing the preceptes of Aristotle and Horace . . . with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles and Seneca¹.

The school-course described in the *De litterarum ludis* shows clearly that Sturm's chief object was the attainment of "eloquence," more especially of the Ciceronian pattern. The boy of seven, in his second year at school, was to read from Cicero's *Selected Letters*, and that author remained the principal object of attention during the remainder of his pupilage. Demosthenes, once taken up, at the age of ten, was never thereafter laid aside. The nine years of school-life, which began on completion of the age of five, were to be devoted to Latin and Greek authors and the composition of prose and verse in those languages; geography and all the seven liberal arts were also to be studied. But we understand where the stress of labour fell, when it is noted that geography and the *quadrivium*, music excepted, were reserved for the concluding year, which saw no remission of the linguistic course. In such conditions, the arithmetic, geometry and astronomy can scarcely have been serious studies; they consisted, in all probability, of very elementary statements in the nature of "general knowledge" which could be utilized in declamations and disputations. Information of this kind constituted the "eruditio," or learning, which was a professed aim of schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it was the matrix, so to say, out of which "modern studies" had their birth at a later time.

Sturm hoped that the boy of nine would have attained sufficient mastery of Latin in his four years' course to warrant the addition of Greek at that age. School was to be followed by a five-year course known as "Public Lectures," which included Greek literature, philosophy (as taught by Plato, Aristotle and Cicero) and one of the senior faculties, theology, law, medicine².

It is needless to ask whether this plan was ever more than a conception of its author. A report on the work done in the Gymnasium in 1556 was made by the chief of Sturm's staff, Dasypodius, which shows a less ambitious achievement. In the three junior classes, the boys learned the Latin accidence and read extracts from Cicero's *Letters*; in the next form, they learned Latin syntax and began Greek. The fifth and fourth forms made a study of prosody, illustrated by Virgil's *Eclogues*, read Cicero, *De Senectute*

¹ *The Scholemaster*, p. 284.

² *De litt. ludis*, chap. xv. ff.

and *De Amicitia*, and two of Aesop's Fables in Greek. Serious reading was confined to the three highest forms. The third and lowest of these read three of Cicero's orations and *Aeneid I* and *II*: the more able boys made verses. In the two top forms dialectic was studied from a text-book written by the Rector, its illustrations being drawn from Cicero and Demosthenes; the authors read included Virgil, a book of Homer and a Platonic dialogue. Religious instruction, consisting of catechism in the lower forms and the Gospels and Epistles in the upper, was given on Sundays¹.

A comparison based on contemporary records is possible between this Strasbourg course and the studies of two English schools of similar rank. There is an Eton *Consuetudinarium* written by William Malim, the head master in 1560, which is described at length in Lyte's *History of Eton College*, chap. viii. Leach (*Educational Charters*, pp. 496 ff.) has reprinted the Westminster statutes of 1560, so far as they concern the school founded in that year. The latter, of course, record intentions rather than facts, while Dasypodius and Malim report what was done or attempted; but there is no reason to believe that Westminster failed to give effect to the statutes. The life as pictured at Eton and Westminster is very similar to that of Winchester portrayed in the mid-seventeenth century as it appears in the contemporary verses, called *De Collegio*, ascribed to Robert Mathew by Mr A. K. Cook (*About Winchester College*).

The organization and the general character of the studies are the same in the English and the Strasbourg schools. But Eton and Westminster pay greater attention to literature as such; they read a greater number of classical authors, especially poets, they put Latin translations of Aesop and Lucian into the hands of the younger boys and they admit the Latin epigrams of a contemporary like Sir Thomas More to the list of school readings. Yet rhetorical exercises are by no means neglected: at Eton and Westminster the *Epitome troporum ac schematum et grammaticorum et rhetoricorum* of Susenbrotus is a fifth form class-book. Following an age-long method of training in rhetoric and prose composition, the boys of all the seven forms at Westminster are required to gather from their classical reading and to record in their note-

¹ Hirzel, "Dasypodius," in *Neues Schweizerisches Museum*, vol. vi. pp. 168 ff.

books "flowers or turns of speech, likewise antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, stories, descriptions of times, of place and of persons, fables, sayings, rhetorical figures, apophthegms"—all for the purpose of *Imitatio*.

All the schools teach the writing of verse and make much of spoken Latin; it is penal to use the vernacular during school hours or even within the school precincts. Strasbourg relies for help in teaching "conversational Latin" upon Sturm's *Selections from Cicero's Letters*; the two English schools supplement that popular book by readings from Terence, whose comedies were generally thought to be written in the *prose* of "good society," and by the rote learning of dialogues included in the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, the *Dialogos aut Confabulationes Pueriles* of Cordier and the *Exercitatio Linguae Latinae* (1539) of J. L. Vives¹.

In two important respects, Westminster is peculiar. "As a knowledge of singing is found to be of the greatest use for a clear and distinct elocution," all the grammar-school pupils are required to resort for two hours twice in every week to the master of the Abbey choristers for instruction in music. The requirement reminds us of the almost universal cultivation of music which was a feature of Elizabethan England; and the statutory obligation to present a comedy or tragedy every Christmas at Westminster School is further testimony to the existence in the country at large of an aesthetic atmosphere which grew thin and cold a century later. The study of Hebrew grammar and the reading of the Psalms in Hebrew and Greek, required in the Seventh Form by these statutes, are further points of contact between school and the outside world, where the Reformation had brought about a great and general revival of biblical study.

It is suggested by Sturm's biographer, Charles Schmidt, that the pressure of Jesuit competition moved him in 1565 to readjust the arrangements of the Strasbourg Gymnasium and that, with that end in view, he wrote his *Epistolae Classicae*, or Letters to the Masters of the ten forms, explaining his objects and the method of attaining them. In the lower forms, everything was to be done to give the children a large fund of Latin words descriptive of the common experiences of every-day life, which they were to get by heart; for this purpose they were supplied with *onomastica*, or

¹ Translated by Foster Watson under the title *Tudor Schoolboy Life*, 1908.

vocabularies such as had been in use for centuries, and with *adagia* and *colloquia*, collections of proverbs and dialogues, which became very popular after the appearance of Erasmus's publications bearing those titles. Each boy kept a *diarium*, or day-book, in which he wrote the new words and phrases encountered daily, classifying them as rhetorical, narrative or poetic¹. In the higher forms, a similar practice was to be directed to the illustration of the rules of rhetoric and the noting of passages for imitation. St Paul's Epistles were studied throughout the upper half of the school.

Latin was to be the common speech of the Gymnasium, and declamations, disputations and the performance of comedies and tragedies afforded abundant practice in Latin conversation. The acting of plays was at this period generally recognized, not only as a means of instruction in spoken Latin (for which purpose Terence was almost universally employed) but also as a discipline in mind and manners, on which ground Bacon, in the *Advancement of Learning*, highly recommended the Jesuits for using "the action of the theatre." Dr Boas records performances between 1527 and 1583, but chiefly after 1560, at the following schools: St Paul's, Eton, Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Canterbury, Shrewsbury, Beverley and Hitchin². To these Winchester (1565, 1574) should be added³. Westminster School Statutes made it compulsory to present a Latin play every Christmas, and the choristers were to give one in English. School plays were by no means confined to classical Latin or to antique topics. The dramatic performances in Oxford and Cambridge colleges and the dramatic achievements of the "University wits" are as familiar to students of Elizabethan literature as are "the aery of children, little eyases" who competed with the players in *Hamlet*.

The stage-plays furnished occasions for emulation, which Sturm also stimulated by giving prizes. Each class in the Strasbourg Gymnasium had its permanent form-master, who nominally retained the same pupils for one year, when an examination determined promotions. As in most schools for centuries before Sturm, monitors aided in the routine of the Gymnasium.

The inordinate attention given to Latin merely as an exercise

¹ *De litt. ludis*, chap. iii.

² *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. v. pp. 102 f.

³ T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, p. 287.

in rhetoric and the almost servile cult of Cicero's prose established a tradition (not confined to German or even to Protestant schools) which became a real obstacle to progress, when new conditions of life required a changed curriculum. Had Sturm followed the lead of Erasmus and Vives in reference especially to Ciceronianism, a reform in the course of studies would probably have been made in Germany far sooner than proved feasible.

Nevertheless, much may be said in justification of Sturm's purposes and method. His devotion to rhetoric was but a repetition of Quintilian, and the latter was the lode-star of humanist education. Like Quintilian, Sturm aimed at training the man of affairs, or at least the capable agent of the man of affairs; his own public career and prominence in the service of the State directly encouraged him in his ideals for the school, if the history of an infinite number of men of letters had not also demonstrated the practical, bread-and-butter value of those ideals when actualized. But the general effect was to divert the schools from the literary culture advocated by the humanists of northern Europe, and to make them training grounds for a rhetoric too often barren, and a philology which failed to attract the majority of the pupils. Thus Latin and Greek, instead of remaining literatures, became "subjects" in a school programme, but subjects which engrossed so much time that little remained for the direct inculcation of positive or material knowledge. And the sterility which too often followed in the minds of individual pupils was at a later time excused on the ground that those minds were being "trained" if they were not being "instructed." In a word, Sturm's influence made for an excessive formalism.

That influence was exercised through channels similar to those which made Melanchthon the Preceptor of Germany. Many pupils from the Strasbourg Gymnasium became prominent schoolmasters, and Sturm was instrumental in founding schools upon the model of his own, while his text-books on rhetoric and dialectic were widely circulated. But his work for education was influential over a greater area than was Melanchthon's. The Strasbourg Gymnasium became a model for the Latin schools of Protestant Germany, Switzerland and France. The reformers, Zwingli of Zurich and Oecolampadius of Basel, sent their sons to Sturm, and Calvin delivered a course of "Public Lectures" in the Alsatian city

before he duplicated Sturm's organization in the Academy at Geneva, but refused to adopt his Ciceronianism. The Genevan Academy and the earlier Academy of Lausanne, both of which secured the services of celebrated teachers, were, like their Strasbourg prototype, combinations of school and college. They numbered young Englishmen amongst their pupils, of whom Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of the great Oxford library, was one. Bodley says that at the age of twelve (*i.e.* in 1557) at Geneva he was

sufficiently instructed to become an auditour of Chevalerius in Hebrew, of Beroaldus in Greeke, of Calvin and Beza in Divinity, and of some other professors in that University (which was then newly erected) besides my domesticall teachers;

he boarded with a well-known physician,

where Robertus Constantinus, that made the Greeke lexicon (1562), read Homer unto me¹.

A Swiss, German, Flemish or French education became the lot of many English children, whose parents, Protestant or Catholic, lived in exile during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth.

Nor was the Strasbourg school a pattern for Protestants only. Sturm himself marked with pleasure the progress made by the Jesuits in school-keeping. "I note," he says in the *Epistolae Classicae*, "their method of teaching, which at present does not greatly differ from our rules and arrangements; so that it seems to be derived from us as a source²." Whether the claim is justified, or not, it is certain that the school management of Sturm and of the Jesuits had much in common; and the Catholic school of Saverne was modelled on the Strasbourg Gymnasium—a fact with which Sturm was reproached by his persecutors.

The Strasbourg rector aroused great enthusiasm in the breast of Roger Ascham ("the dearest friend I have out of England, Jo. St."), who made an oracle of him and his educational practice. A long discourse on "Imitatio" in the second book of Ascham's *Scholemaster* contains a list of writers who have treated that subject,

but Joan Sturmius *de Nobilitate litterata* and *de Amissa dicendi ratione*, farre best of all, in myne opinion, that ever tooke this matter in hand.

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, written by himself*, Oxford, 1647.

² Vormbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 680.

For all the rest declare chiefly this point, whether one of many or all are to be followed: but Sturmius onelie hath most learnedlie declared who is to be followed, what is to be followed, and the best of all, by what way and order trew Imitation is rightlie to be exercised.

Ascham's book was a manual with which English schoolmasters of the seventeenth century were perfectly familiar, and it was one more channel by which the Strasbourg school affected the practice of education in Britain.

After his retirement in 1581, Sturm took in hand the preparation of a work which urged the Catholic and Protestant powers to unite in resisting the advance of the Turks, an advance which brooded like a nightmare over Europe until it was finally hurled back at Vienna in 1683. His chief suggestion was the maintenance of a standing army of defence along the Turkish border, and in that connexion he proposed the equipment of an educational institution thus described by Schmidt.

A military academy, having besides the instructors in the use of arms and of gymnastics, teachers of law, history, medicine, ancient literature, rhetoric and dialectic, which boys would enter from the age of twelve, and there by study and exercise prepare themselves for the art of war and its fatigues¹.

The Strasbourg establishment was formally constituted an Academy, with the power of granting degrees in Arts, by the Emperor Maximilian in 1566. But this plan of Sturm's later years ("my delight and my honour," he calls it) looks to something different, and very like the Academy which John Milton sketched in his tractate *Of Education* (1644). Sturm's *De bello adversus Turcas perpetuo administrando . . . sermones tres* was published at Jena in 1598, and may have been familiar to Milton.

Neither the practice of speaking Latin nor the use of standard dialogues to help boys in acquiring the art were novelties when the Westminster statutes of 1560 enjoined them. On the contrary, they continued a tradition of the schools which reached back to pre-Christian days. But the Latin spoken in the mediaeval universities and schools had departed very materially in vocabulary and in idiom from the literary language of the classical authors. Enthusiastic disciples of the classical revival were offended even by

¹ *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*, p. 212.

the natural changes which must inevitably arise within any living tongue after the lapse of fifteen hundred years; the intrusion of non-Latin construction and of words of non-Latin origin added to the offence, so that to these very critical ears the result was a jargon and not a speech fit for the service of cultured men. The standard dialogues of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not meant to introduce a novel practice into school, but, by presenting models of a pure, *i.e.* classical Latinity, to reform a long-established usage.

Many teachers of that time appear to have drawn up, for use with their own pupils, short dialogues, lists of idiomatic phrases and similar aids to spoken Latin. The printing press made circulation outside the teacher's own school an easy matter, and a whole class of small books containing proverbs, maxims and other conversational "small change" came into existence. Erasmus was the greatest of these collectors from classical sources; and his *Colloquia* was the most famous and most widely read in Protestant lands of all the standard dialogues. At first, so it would appear, confined to the humble office of registering conversational formulas for use in teaching, its scope was gradually widened during the many years it remained under its author's hands. In the Basel edition of 1523 the original intention is lost in a classic of world-literature, which is at once an organ of ecclesiastical and theological controversy, a medium of satire and invective and a mirror presenting the *comédie humaine* as Erasmus saw it. It found favour in schools as literature or as polemic, but did not serve the particular purpose of the standard dialogue, except in so far as its Latinity was a model of good prose.

Of quite another kind was the work of Maturin Cordier (1479-1564), who taught "grammar" in Paris, Bordeaux, Neufchâtel, in Calvin's Academy of Geneva and at Lausanne. In 1530, while in Paris, Cordier published *De corrupti sermonis emendatione libellus*, the corrupt tongue of the title being mediaeval Latin, and its emendation consisting in the adoption of "classical" forms. By way of illustration, the work contained dialogues, each of which was presented in jargon, in "good" Latin and in French, the last being a significant innovation. The book achieved an early circulation throughout France and a German version appeared in 1537. The *Dialogos aut Confabulationes Pueriles* of the West

minster statutes must mean these or similar collections from Cordier's *Libellus* of 1530.

The school-book which has carried Cordier's name down to posterity is the *Colloquiorum scholasticorum libri quattuor ad pueros in sermone Latino paulatim exercendos*, published at Lyons in 1564, but written at Geneva, of whose Academy it affords a picture in outline. The *School Colloquies* or *Cordier's Dialogues* became even more familiar in European schools than the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, the absence of those qualities which attracted so many to the latter work making "Cordier" acceptable in Catholic as well as in Protestant schools.

Cordier's dialogues are brief, usually addressed to one or two points only and deal with matters within the interests and powers of children. Like all books of the same kind they give side-lights on a state of manners which has now passed away, but it cannot be pretended that they are "literature." Yet they kept their place in schools for nearly three centuries. The quotations given below are from an English edition published by Charles Hoole in 1652, "that children by the help of their Mother Tongue may the better learn to speak Latine in ordinary discourse." In the dialogue, Hoole has merely translated Cordier's French; so it comes about that the English schoolboy is said to possess a *French* translation of Cicero's *Epistles*. The mediaeval Latin which was included in Cordier's *Libellus* of 1530 has no place in any of the versions of the school-book. The second quotation, a monologue addressed by a boy to his master and class-mates, describes the routine of the Geneva Academy when Cordier was a master there. Both passages, however, hold as good for schools of the seventeenth as of the sixteenth century, whether English or foreign.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN CAMPANUS AND LANGUINUS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| C. Have you many books? | Habesne multos libros? |
| L. Not very many. | Non admodum. |
| C. But what have you? | Sed quos habes? |
| L. The Grounds of Grammar, School Colloquies, Terence, Tullie's Epistles with the French translation, Cato, a dictionary, an English Testament, the Psalms | Rudimenta Grammatica, Colloquia Scholastica, Terentium, Epistolas Ciceronis cum Gallica interpretatione, Catonem, Dictionarium, Testamentum |

with a catechism; and besides a Paper book to write the Master's dictates in. But what books have you?

C. I have all which you have reckoned, except Cato, Terence, and Tullie's Epistles. For what should I do with books which are not read in our form?

L. But I do read them sometimes, while we are at leisure; that I may alwayes learn something that is new, especially in the Latine tongue, and good manners.

C. You do discreetly, my Languine. Alas poor wretch I! who never learnt what it was to be diligent at my books!

L. Learn then; for it is better to learn late than never.

Anglicum, Psalmos cum Catechismo; praeterea librum chartaceum ad scribendum dictata praeceptoris. Tu vero quos habes?

Omnes habeo quos enumerasti, praeter Catonem, Terentium et Ciceronis Epistolas. Cur enim libros haberem qui non praeleguntur in classe nostra?

At ego, dum sumus otiosi, lego interdum illos; ut semper aliquid addiscam novi, praesertim in Lingua Latina et bonis moribus.

Prudenter facis, mi Languine. O me miserum! qui nunquam didici quid sit studiosum esse.

Disce igitur; praestet enim sero quam nunquam discere.

(*Colloquia Scholastica*, Bk. 1, col. 34; reprint of 1676.)

SCHOOL ROUTINE AT GENEVA.

Whilst we are in making an end of our breakfast, the second peal rings, every one takes his books; we go into the common hall. The bills [*catalogi*, class-rolls] of every form are called, as the custom is; they that are there answer to their name. I make answer too. They that are away are noted by the Monitors in their bills. After the bills have done calling, the master goeth into his pue to pray; he bids us to mind and then he prayeth publicly. When he hath prayed, he saith, Get you every one into his hearing place. They all come together, I also come with my schoolfellows; I sit in my place. The master comes in. He enquires concerning them that are away. And then he sits in his seat and bids the Author's writing to be read up ["jubet pronuntiari auctoris scriptum," orders the passage set from the author in use to be read aloud]. We say three and three [that is, by threes in turn] with a loud voice, as we use to do every day. Then he bids us construe. Some of the more ignorant sort read one by one; we other-some say three and three, and that by heart [*memoriter*] except him that goes orderly [*ordine*, in his turn] before us repeating the very words of the author.

At the last, the master exacts the English signification of the words. The better scholars [*doctiores*], to whom he giveth that in charge by name, make answer, I also being commanded by him to answer. He commends them that answer well; of the number of whom (be it spoken without boasting) I was one. Afterwards he commandeth every part of speech to be orderly parsed according to the grammar rule. Last of all, he doth openly appoint what is to be repeated after dinner. When it hath struck eight of clock, he commands us to prayer; which, when it is done, he adviseth us to do diligently what we have to do. At the last he dismisseth us. As he looks upon us, we go forth in order and without noise, and we depart merrily.

(*Op. cit.*, Bk. II, col. 61, omitting the Latin.)

CHAPTER X

THE MAN OF ACTION AND THE NEW PHILOSOPHER

It had always been understood that the form of education afforded by schools and similar recognized institutions was quite inadequate, if not irrelevant, in the case of members of the small but very prominent governing class. Schools had little to offer which especially helped the future soldier, courtier or man of action. In the Middle Ages, the education of the clerk and of the knight were distinct; the latter aimed at something more than soldierly skill and at something other than the craft of the grammarian or logician. The revived study of humane letters affected the aims of chivalric education and disposed it, as Ascham said, "to joyne learning with cumlie exercises¹." An interest in ancient literature and its study from the humanist standpoint spread amongst the European nobility. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (1391-1447), John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and the patrons of Caxton at the court of Edward IV are representative in our own country of this disposition. With the advance in knowledge which marked the sixteenth century, it became clear to those who were interested in the education of the governing class that new fields of instruction must be opened. While the social accomplishments and soldierly arts demanded as much study as ever, it now became necessary to add the practical application of mathematics to the art of war, and the knowledge of modern languages, modern history and modern geography to the equipment of the statesman and diplomatist. It was also understood that a knowledge of the recent advances in physical science might be of advantage to the men of action and of affairs.

Although individual Englishmen were early in making this discovery, and although there is a considerable volume of English

¹ *The Scholemaster*, bk. I.

writing on the subject, ranging over two centuries, yet England never succeeded in embodying these ideas in concrete institutions. On the other hand, the French "academies," which gave this instruction to the nobility of Europe, were influential from the time of their foundation in the sixteenth century; and Germany after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War (1648) followed French practice in this as in other forms of culture. The result is seen in the subsequent history of the ordinary school curriculum; England was amongst the very last to admit modern studies to the schools which educated her governing class.

The theory of this new mode of education, devised for the governing and socially prominent class, is usually spoken of as "the doctrine of courtesy." It was expounded in *Il Cortegiano* (The Courtier) of the Mantuan, Baldesar Castiglione, a work published in 1528¹. By "courtier," the author means the man engaged in the active service of his prince, whether in the council-chamber or the field. But since the courtier's "true and chief profession should be that of arms," martial exercises take the first place in his instruction. His more peaceful accomplishments, while they are considered as ornaments of the soldier, have a distinct value of their own, for which they are to be assiduously cultivated. The courtier, then, is to be learned in Latin and Greek literature, in rhetoric, more especially in its application to the mother-tongue, moderately skilled in music, dancing, drawing, painting, carving, chess and similar arts of peace. The whole of this learned and social training is to be shared equally by the courtier and the lady of the palace, "the waiting gentlewoman," as Hoby translates the term.

The craving for *virtù*, for personal distinction and a place in the public eye, which marked the Italian humanist, is characteristic of Castiglione's ideal also.

I desire that our courtier should be a perfect horseman on every kind of mount; and besides possessing knowledge of horses and of what concerns horsemanship, let him use zeal and diligence to surpass others somewhat in everything, so that he may ever be known amongst all men as one who excels.

¹ Translated into English, 1561, by Sir Thos. Hoby. Florio says that in his time (1591) the original was one of two books often read by English students of Italian.

He must avoid affectation as a sailor would avoid a sharp and perilous rock; but let him

employ in everything a certain disdain (*sprezzatura*) which conceals art, and let him show that whatsoever he does, or says, comes about without toil and as if without thought about it¹.

The Boke named the Governour (1531), by Sir Thomas Elyot, is the first English contribution to the discussion of the education best fitted for "a gentleman which is to have authority in the public weal." Elyot is at one with Castiglione in asserting the power of a humanist discipline for this purpose. The instruction in physical and military exercises and in social accomplishments prescribed by both writers is the same. But Elyot omits modern languages, although interest in geography, then becoming general, makes him call for the study of modern maps, of cosmography and astronomy as well as geometry. A significant difference lies in Elyot's recommendation that, after the age of twenty-one, the future "governor" should study the laws of this realm, not for professional objects, but as part of a general education, to whose completion he considered a philosophical grasp of the principles of jurisprudence was necessary. As early as the time of Edward IV, the Inns of Court were resorted to for this purpose by the sons "of knights, barons, other magnates and nobles of the kingdom²," who regarded the Inns in much the same light as their successors thought of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. The vogue of the Inns of Court amongst the nobility and wealthy gentry was possibly one reason why proposals for erecting "academies" in England invariably came to nothing; the competition of foreign institutions was another.

The earliest English scheme for an "academy," a scheme which is eminently practical in character, although it was not found practicable at the moment, was the work of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh's half-brother. It is described in a memorandum now included in the Lansdowne manuscripts, and printed by the Early English Text Society in 1869 under the title *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*. The object of the memorandum is "the erection of an Achademy in London for educacion of her Maiestes Wardes

¹ Cian's edition, 1908, bk. I. secs. xxi, xxvi.

² Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Angliae* (1468-70), quoted in H. H. S. Croft's *The Boke*, etc., vol. I. p. 132 n.

and others the youth of nobility and gentlemen." The need for such an institution arises from the defects of schools and universities and the particular requirements of the layman who will in time share in the government of the country.

At this present, the estate of gentlemen cannot well traine up their children within this Realme but eyther in Oxford or Cambridge, whereof this ensueth. First, being theare, they utterly lose their tymes, yf they doe not follow learning onely. For there is no other gentlemanlike qualitie to be attained. Also, by the evill example of suche, those which would aply their studies are drawn to licentiousnes and Idlenes; and, therefore, yt were every way better that they were in any other place then theare. And whereas in the universities men study only school learnings, in this Achademy they shall study matters of accion meet for present practize, both of peace and warre. And yf they will not dispose themselves to letters, yet they may learne languages, or martiall activities for the service of their Cowntrey. Yf neyther the one nor the other, then may they exercize themselves in qualities meet for a gentleman. And also the other universities shall then better suffize to releive poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen, taking up their schollarshippes and fellowshippes, do disapointe the poore of their livinges and avauncementes¹.

Also all those gentlemen of the Innes of Court which shall not apply themselves to the study of the lawes, may then exercize themselves in this Achademy in other qualities meet for a gentleman. The Cowrtiers and other gentlemen abowte London, having good oportunity, may likewise do the same. All which do now for the moste part loose their times. Further, whereas by wardeship the most parte of noble men and gentlemen within this Realme haue bene brought up ignorantly and voide of good educacions, your Maiesty may by order apoincte them to be brought up during their minorities in this Achademy, from xij to his full age, if he be a gentleman by the father of five dissentes, and to have the prynses allowanse towardses the same, whosoever have the wardshippe of his bodye, yf yt shallbe fownde by office that he may yearly dispend £13. 6s. 8d.

The great variety of choice in studies to be afforded by this Academy, the relative importance of the several branches, the subordination of theory to practice, the stipends of the teachers and the union, in one institution, of the functions of school and college, or university, were all in striking contrast with the established usage of the time. This foundation, whose yearly expenditure

¹ Cp. pp. 148 f. above.

of some three thousand pounds Gilbert hoped would be furnished from the property of the Queen's wards, was distinctly intended to work a revolution in education.

The schoolmaster for Latin and Greek, the readers in Hebrew, logic and rhetoric, and natural philosophy (that is, those teachers who were to supply the place of the ordinary grammar school and the first years at the university) were each to receive an annual stipend of £40; the schoolmaster's four ushers were each to receive half as much. These were liberal salaries; but it is significant that yearly stipends of £100 each were to be paid to the professors of political philosophy (civil and military), *applied* mathematics (two teachers), physic, civil law, divinity and common law. The teacher of horsemanship, who contracted to maintain a stud of chargers and to teach his art for purposes of parade and warfare at a fee not exceeding ten shillings a month, was one of these highly paid teachers. Teachers of French, Italian, Spanish, German, of fencing, dancing and vaulting, instrumental music and heraldry were to receive salaries of £26; the teachers of French, Italian and music were to be assisted by ushers who received a salary of £10.

The teacher of rhetoric is to pay particular attention to the study and use of the mother-tongue, because "in what language soever learning is attayned, the apliance to use is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in counsell, in commyssion and other offices of common weale." The political philosopher will give an account of ancient and modern states, their government, judicature, revenue, present condition, military forces, and their discipline, training, armament and maintenance; with the like particulars respecting England.

By which meanes, children shall learne more at home of the civill pollicies of forraine cowntries, and our owne, then most old men doe which have travailed farthest abroad.

While the principles of pure mathematics are to be taught by ushers, each receiving stipends of £40, the salary of £100 is paid to each of the two professors of applied mathematics. The first of these teaches military engineering, artillery and the practice of gunnery; the second cosmography and astronomy in their application to navigation. He is assisted by a map-maker who teaches cartography, surveying, perspective and mensuration at a yearly stipend of £40. Students of navigation also learn, from a model

ship and galley, the shipwright's art. Under the professor of horsemanship is a "perfect trained soldier" in receipt yearly of £66. 13s. 4d., who teaches musketry and infantry tactics. The professor of common law teaches the duties of justices of the peace and of sheriffs, but does not give professional instruction.

One noteworthy suggestion is that it shall be the duty of the teachers of the Academy to carry on research and to advance knowledge in their respective branches. The physician and the natural philosopher

shall continually practize . . . by fire and otherwise to search and try out the secretes of nature as many waies as they possible may. And shalbe sworne once euery yeare to deliuer into the Treasurer's office, faire and plaine written in parchment, without equivocations or enigmaticall phrases, under their handes, all those their proofes and trialles made within the fore-passed yeare, togeather with the true evente of thinges, and all other necessary accidentes growing therby, to thend that their successors may knowe both the way of their working, and the event thereof, the better to follow the good and avoyd the evill, which in time must of force bring great thinges to light, yf in Awcomistrie¹ there be any such thinges hidden.

Similarly, the professors of arts and laws "shall once within every six yeares set forth some new bookes in printe, according to their severall professions." The teachers of languages are enjoined to "publish in printe some translation into the English tounge of some good worke" on a subject relevant to the studies of the Academy.

The student of English literature will note in this brief and sketchy memorandum anticipations of projects afterwards fathered by Bacon, Milton, Cowley and by lesser lights. Montaigne in that comprehensive survey of human activity, great and small, which is presented in his *Essais* (1580), frequently touches the business of education; and his theory and practice substantially agree with those of Gilbert. Knowledge and mental discipline, so he thought, are far more appropriate to the man of affairs than to the man of letters; and the mode of conveying knowledge usually employed failed, because it was too often a matter of books and words rather than of the things and ideas which words signify. A

¹ *i.e.* alchemy; but it would be more just to the sixteenth century to think of it as the ancestor of chemistry and, especially, of the chemistry of elements.

training in action, not by books, is the appropriate preliminary to a life of action, and the aim of instruction should be the development of judgment, not the increase of "learning."

The kind of education advocated by Gilbert was first realized in the French "academies," which were in the beginning more or less private ventures conducted by men prominent at court or in the public service or by reason of birth. But as their value became better understood, attempts were made to give the academies a public standing, and in these attempts the congregation of the Oratory of Jesus was distinguished. The French Oratorians were founded in 1611 to promote the education of priests; and when the Abbey of Juilly was transferred to them in 1637, their intention was to make it, like their other schools, a purely clerical seminary. But Louis XIII seized the opportunity of advancing a cherished scheme, the education of boys of noble birth in a public, or semi-public, establishment upon lines other than those of the ordinary school. The Oratorians agreed to receive such boys for this purpose and to educate them at Juilly with novices for the priesthood. By the king's authority the new school was called the Académie Royale, under which title it became a celebrated seat of French education and an influential agent in the subsequent reform of the curriculum of French schools. The traditional rhetorical training in Latin and Greek was not abandoned; but it was supplemented by the study of the mother-tongue, the lowest class in the school being expressly one for teaching French. The new studies comprised physics, mathematics, geography, heraldry, *French* history, drawing, music, dancing and riding. The son of Charles II, James, afterwards Duke of Monmouth, was a pupil at Juilly from his tenth to his thirteenth year (1659-62); he had previously been under the care of the Gentlemen of Port Royal at Le Chesnai.

The study of the vernacular was conspicuous in the academy of Richelieu, which Cardinal Richelieu, closely following the model of Juilly, founded in 1640. The example thus set of deliberately employing the vernacular language and literature as instruments of education was followed and bettered by the Gentlemen of Port Royal, who, during the second half of the seventeenth century, wrought permanent and beneficial reforms in French education generally.

The most promising attempts to institute "academies" in

England belong to the reigns of the first two Stuarts: later projects (of which Milton's tractate *Of Education*, 1644, is the best remembered) never had much chance of being carried into effect. Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, who died in 1612, aged eighteen, is credited with the design of establishing a royal academy, or school of arms for royal wards and others, in which instruction should be given in languages, mathematics, horsemanship, the use of arms and in bodily training generally. This project was mooted by Buckingham in the House of Lords, where it received occasional attention between 1620 and King James's death in 1625. It was hoped that the proposed academy would make it unnecessary for Englishmen to resort to the foreign schools. The practice of continental travel as an accepted mode of rounding off a young notable's education, which had sprung up in Elizabeth's reign notwithstanding the difficulties placed in its way by the State authorities, had become fully established under the first Stuarts. Foreign travel, more especially when it included a sojourn in Italy, was looked at askance by the English authorities, because they feared its influence upon religious and political beliefs. But the events at home which sent Charles II "on his travels," and afterwards made James II an exile, maintained the association between the English and foreign courts and aristocracies. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the "Grand Tour" was the recognized completion of a course of aristocratic education. As the middle classes became more wealthy and politically more important, they, too, came to appreciate the educative effect of travel.

An ambitious scheme was launched by an Esquire of the Body to Charles I, Sir Francis Kinaston, who in 1635 was licensed to maintain at his house in Covent Garden a so-called Musaeum Minervae for the education of young noblemen and gentlemen. The course was to extend over seven years and students made their choice from a very wide range of studies, on condition that "no gentleman admitted shall exercise himself about more than two particular sciences, arts or qualities, whereof one shall be intellectual, the other corporall." The curriculum was to include arithmetic, algebra, fortification, architecture; astronomy, optics, navigation, cosmography; physiology, anatomy; heraldry, antiquities, common law and the study of legal documents; Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German; music, vocal and instrumental;

riding, dancing and deportment, painting, engraving and writing. This list of subjects is interesting as a record of the things then thought necessary, or advisable, in a gentleman's education, but which, with the exception of the three ancient tongues, schools did not attempt to teach. But the scheme apparently never took shape. In 1639 Edward May described himself as "professor *elect*" of [natural] philosophy and medicine in the Musaeum Minervae, which seems to indicate that the college was not yet in working order. In the following year, a motion was brought forward in the House of Lords in favour of the establishment of an "academy" of this kind; but Parliament was dissolved on the next day and the project vanished. Kinaston died in 1642. There were later proposals of a similar kind and during the opening years of the eighteenth century Lewis Maidwell vainly sought the help of Parliament to found an institution of the academy type. Maidwell was probably only a self-seeking charlatan; but his projects aroused anxiety and opposition in Oxford and Cambridge¹.

There are several circumstances which render these academies, whether realized or only projected, significant in educational history. They were intended to serve a class of persons who were in a position to follow their ideals irrespective of cost, and whose needs were more various than those of which persons "bred to learning" were ordinarily conscious. In comparison with the schools, the academies therefore adopted much less uniformity of procedure, and, by their very constitution, favoured experiment in education, while they sought ways of cultivating kinds of ability which were little stimulated, or not stimulated at all, by the clerkly education. By reason of the conspicuous position occupied by their patrons and pupils, the academies set fashions and hastened the introduction of modern studies and a more extended curriculum into the educational systems of France and Germany. The latter country and Austria followed France during the second half of the seventeenth century and later in setting up academies. The modern Bavarian university of Erlangen, founded as such in 1743, began its history as a courtly academy forty-four

¹ For the English projects see T. W. Jackson, *Collectanea, First Series*, Oxford Historical Society's Publications, pp. 269 ff. For the general topic, reference may perhaps be permitted to Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education*, chaps. x. and xiii.

years earlier. The university of Halle and, more especially, the now extinct university of Göttingen were, from their foundation, deeply influenced by the courtly ideal.

The faults of the courtly academy are fairly obvious; after the originators had passed away, their variety of aims and sometimes limited means were likely to end in superficiality, a charge always preferred by unfriendly critics. Yet they met a want not satisfied by the schools or the routine courses of the universities. Private, unofficial teachers of modern studies were to be found at Oxford and Cambridge; and their presence is partly to be explained by the existence of the foreign academies.

Failing the establishment of English academies, many noble and wealthy families employed domestic tutors, and those who were dissatisfied with the schools and could afford the expense adopted the same expedient. Mrs Hutchinson, speaking of her husband during the time of the Commonwealth, says:

As he had great delight, so he had great judgment in music, and advanced his children's practice more than their tutors; he also was a great supervisor of their learning and indeed himself a tutor of them all, besides all those tutors which he liberally entertained in his house for them. He spared not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, music, dancing and all other qualities befitting their father's house.

The inclusion here of girls with their brothers is to be noted: private tuition, either by the boys' tutors or by governesses, largely prevailed in the education of the daughters of wealthy families. John Locke's scheme of education (1693) requires a tutor for its management, no school in his opinion being capable of the task or even worthy of it. A fair inference from *Some Thoughts concerning Education* is that *mutatis mutandis* the upbringing of girls should be very much the same as that of boys. By the time of Swift and Defoe the domestic tutor had become a fashion and an abuse.

Those amongst the nobility and wealthy land-owners who adversely criticised the established forms of instruction were followed later by the students of Francis Bacon's "new philosophy," that is, the study of natural phenomena on inductive principles through observation and experiment. Modern science had made considerable progress at the opening of the seventeenth

century, from which period advance was rapid. This was notably so in mathematics, astronomy, mechanics, anatomy, physiology; and invention was very successful in the making, or perfecting, of scientific instruments. The absorbing interests of a number of educated Englishmen, and, in particular, of senior members of the universities were exhibited in the meetings of what was known as "the Invisible College" and "the men of Gresham." One of its members, Dr John Wallis (1616-1703), Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford, has left an account of this informal and strictly private association which was ultimately transformed into the Royal Society.

About the year 1645, while I lived in London (at a time when, by our civil wars, academical studies were much interrupted in both our universities) beside the conversation of divers eminent divines as to matters theological, I had the opportunity of being acquainted with divers worthy persons, inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of humane learning, and particularly of what hath been called the new philosophy or experimental philosophy. We did by agreement, divers of us, meet weekly in London on a certain day to treat and discourse of such affairs. Of which number were Dr John Wilkins (afterward Bp of Chester), Dr Jonathan Goddard, Dr George Ent, Dr Glisson, Dr Merret (Drs in Physick), Mr Samuel Foster, then professor of anatomy at Gresham College, Mr Theodore Haak (a German of the Palatinate and then resident in London, who, I think, gave the first occasion and first suggested those meetings) and many others.

These meetings we held sometimes at Dr Goddard's lodgings in Woodstreet (or some convenient place near) on occasion of his keeping an operator in his house for grinding glasses for telescopes and microscopes; and sometime at a convenient place in Cheapside; sometime at Gresham College or some place near adjoining. Our business was (precluding matters of theology and state affairs) to discourse and consider of philosophical enquiries and such as related thereunto; as physick, anatomy, geometry, astronomy, navigation, staticks, magneticks, chymicks, mechanicks and natural experiments, with the state of these studies as then cultivated at home and abroad. We there discoursed of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the veins, the *venae lacteae*, the lymphatick vessels, the Copernican hypothesis, the nature of comets and new stars, the satellites of Jupiter, the oval shape (as it then appeared) of Saturn, the spots in the sun and its turning on its own axis, the inequalities and selenography of the moon, the several phases of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of telescopes and grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight of air, the possibility or impossibility

of vacuities and Nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quicksilver, the descent of heavy bodies and the degrees of acceleration therein, and divers other things of like nature. Some of which were then but new discoveries and others not so generally known and embraced as now they are, with other things appertaining to what hath been called the New Philosophy; which, from the times of Galileo at Florence and Sr. Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) in England hath been much cultivated in Italy, France, Germany and other parts abroad, as well as with us in England.

About the year 1648-9, the company divided, part meeting in Oxford, part in London; but there was no separation of the members answering to the separation in place of meeting. The Oxford conferences were held first, at the house of Dr William Petty, physician and economist, and later,

at the lodgings of the Honorable Mr Robert Boyle. Those meetings in London continued and (after the King's return in 1660) were increased with the accession of divers worthy and honorable persons, and were afterwards incorporated [1662] by the name of the Royal Society, etc.¹

These particular devotees of the New Philosophy, with the exception of William Petty, had no thought of introducing their studies into school or university, for which introduction those studies were at that stage insufficiently organized. For their part, schools were entirely oblivious both of the modern studies of the aristocratic academy and of the scientific inquiries conducted by the "men of Gresham." Even a cursory examination of John Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612) or Charles Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole* (1660), two books which faithfully reflect the practice of their day, shows that instruction was limited to Latin, chiefly grammar and rhetorical exercises, and, to a less extent, Greek, while the best schools added Hebrew. The influence of the Reformation and of the prevailing clericalism of the universities is here evident.

The Bohemian, Comenius (John Amos Komensky, 1592-1671), was one of the earliest students of the writings of Francis Bacon who appreciated the bearing of the New Philosophy upon the work of schools and universities. His own profession of school-master naturally turned his thoughts to this aspect of Bacon's

¹ "Dr Wallis's Accbunt of some Passages of his own Life" in Thos. Hearne's *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*, vol. 1. pp. clxii ff. Oxford, 1725.

teaching; and his later offices of bishop, or ecclesiastical chief, of the exiled Moravian Brethren and of educational adviser to different foreign governments and philanthropists in succession, brought his opinions and recommendations within the limits of common knowledge. From Bacon, he learned to question the *dicta* of authority concerning natural phenomena and to substitute observation and experiment at first hand as the only reliable basis on which to build natural science. Like Bacon, he saw the enormous advantages "for the relief of man's estate" which might accrue from progress in this natural knowledge, and he eagerly advocated such an extension of the ordinary curriculum as would render some of this newly discovered science accessible to schools and universities. At the same time, he believed that scientific study would induce a new attitude of mind towards knowledge generally and its acquisition. The attainment of knowledge he regarded, with Bacon, as rather a question of method than of individual capacity; and the method of instruction which he pressed upon his contemporaries was one which was to be governed by an understanding of mental process as it exists and develops in immature minds. It was regarded almost as axiomatic by educational reformers of that day, that given the correct method, the possibility of learning was well-nigh infinite; Bacon was responsible for an error which Milton in the tractate *Of Education* very fully exemplified. On that ground, Comenius saw no difficulty in adding to the accepted subjects of school study those modern subjects, such as history, geography and, above all, the vernacular, whose omission had become a reproach. Such were some of the principles of Comenius's *The Great Didactic* [Art], setting forth a universal system of teaching everybody everything, a work written between 1628 and 1632¹. As an expert in educational organization, Comenius was invited to this country, possibly at the instigation of Samuel Hartlib, with a view to assisting certain members of the Long Parliament in effecting changes in English educational practice. But the time of his visit, on the eve of the Civil War, was absolutely unfavourable to such a design, and Comenius left England without having done anything noteworthy.

Hartlib had better success when he persuaded Milton to write

¹ Written originally in Czech: the Latin version, begun in 1638, is included in the author's *Opera Didactica Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1657).

Of Education (1644) and William Petty to publish *The Advice of W.P. to Mr Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of some particular Parts of Learning* (1648). The latter embodies a revolutionary scheme based chiefly on the principle that utility must decide what should constitute a curriculum. Petty would erect schools which all *children*, not boys only, must attend after reaching the age of seven; poor children should be assisted by scholarships. The course of instruction begins with observation of "all sensible objects and actions, whether they be natural or artificial, which the educators must on all occasions expound unto them," that is, by object lessons, as we should say. After that come reading, writing and shorthand. All are to learn these things as well as drawing, physical exercises, the elements of arithmetic and algebra, and, above all, a handicraft. Music may be learned by those who have talent for it and foreign languages by those only who will need to use them¹.

The actual business of the school was very different, as may be seen from that *Account* of his life by John Wallis, which has already been quoted. What he tells us of his schooling shows that it was restricted to a somewhat barren kind of rhetorical instruction, the ideal of Sturm and a pedantic Ciceronianism, qualified somewhat by contact with a few classical authors and varied by teaching which it was assumed would secure *pietas litterata*. Wallis, a clergyman's son, was born at Ashford, where he was brought up till the great London plague of 1625 caused his removal to a safer locality.

I had til then been educated at Ashford in learning English and somewhat of Latin. But upon this occasion was sent to school to Tenterden where lived Mr Finch, a worthy gentleman of a good estate, who, having divers children of his own, entertained a schoolmaster in his family, Mr James Movat, a Scotchman, who was a very good schoolmaster and kept a private school for the instruction of all the children of that gentleman and of divers others who lodged in the neighbourhood. His scholar I continued for divers years and was by him well grounded in the technical part of grammar, so as to understand the rules and the grounds and reasons for such rules, with the use of them in such authors as are usually read in grammar schools.

This private school was closed in 1630 and at Christmas in that year

¹ For Hartlib and the educational innovators associated with him, see Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education*, 1600-1700.

I was sent to school to Mr Martin Holbech at Felsted in Essex, who was reputed (as indeed he was) a very good school-master. He there taught a Free School of the foundation of the Earl of Warwick. . . . At this school, though in a countrey village, he had at that time above an hundred or six score scholars, most of them strangers, sent thither from other places upon reputation of the school, from whence many good scholars weresent yearly to the University. . . . I continued his scholar for two years; and was by that time pretty well acquainted with the Latin and Greek tongues, having read divers authors therein (such as at schools are wont to be read) and was pretty accurate in the grammars of both, and in such other learning as is commonly taught in such schools and as wel qualified for the University as most that come thither. I had been used in both the schools to speak Latin, which made that language pretty familiar to me, which I found to be of great advantage afterward. I learned there somewhat of Hebrew, as to be able, with my grammar and dictionary to proceed further without a teacher . . . and [afterwards] in a few years had read over all the Hebrew Bible and much of it more than once. And I was there taught somewhat of Logick as a preparation to a further study of it in the University.

While I continued a scholar there at Christmas, 1631 . . . I was for about a fortnight at home with my mother at Ashford. I there found that a younger brother of mine, in order to a trade, had for about three months been learning, as they called it, to write and cipher, or cast account, and he was a good proficient for that time. When I had been there a few days, I was inquisitive to know what it was they so called, and, to satisfie my curiosity, my brother did (during the remainder of my stay there before I returned to school) shew me what he had been learning in those three months. Which now, besides the writing a fair hand, the practical part of common arithmetick in numeration, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, the rule of three (direct and inverse), the rule of fellowship (with and without time), the rule of false position, rules of practise and reduction of coins and some other little things¹. Which, when he had shewed me by steps in the same method that he had learned them, and I had wrought over all the examples which he before had done in his book, I found no difficulty to understand it, and I was very well pleased with it, and thought it ten days or a fortnight well spent. This was my first insight into mathematicks, and all the teaching I had.

This suiting my humor so well, I did henceforth prosecute it at school and in the University not as a formal study, but as a pleasing diversion, at spare hours, as books of arithmetick, or others mathematical, fel occasionally in my way. For I had none to direct me what

¹ Wallis was then in his sixteenth year and "ripe for the university" after more than six years of schooling.

books to read, or what to seek, or in what method to proceed. For mathematicks at that time with us were scarce looked upon as academical studies, but rather mechanical, as the business of traders, merchants, seamen, carpenters, surveyors of land, or the like, and perhaps some almanack-makers in London. And amongst more than two hundred students at that time in our college I do not know of any two (perhaps not any) who had more of mathematicks than I, if so much, which was then but little; and but very few in that whole University. For the study of mathematicks was at that time more cultivated in London than in the Universities. At this time also I learned the rudiments of musick and of the French tongue.

About Christmas, 1632, I was sent to the University of Cambridge, and was there admitted in Emanuel College. . . . When I was come to the University, I found it was no disadvantage to have stayed a year, or more, at school longer than perhaps I needed to have done. I found that, beside the improvement of what skill I had in Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, which I pursued with diligence, and other philologick studies, my first business was to be the study of logick. In this I soon became master of a syllogism as to its true structure and the reason of its consequences, however cryptically proposed, so as not easily to be imposed on by fallacies, or false syllogisms, when I was to answer or defend; and to manage an argument with good advantage, when I was to argue or oppose, and to distinguish ambiguous words or sentences as there was occasion; and was able to hold pace with those who were some years my seniors, and had obtained the reputation of a good disputant. And indeed I had the good hap all along, both at school and in the University, to be reputed if not equal, not much inferior to those of the best of my rank [*i.e.* standing]. From logick I proceeded to ethicks, physicks, and metaphysicks, consulting the Schoolmen on such points, according to the methods of philosophy then in fashion in that University. And I took into it the speculative part of physick and anatomy as parts of natural philosophy. And as Dr Glisson (then public professor of physick in that University) hath since told me, I was the first of his sons who, in a publick disputation, maintained the circulation of the blood, which was then a new doctrine, though I had no design of practising physick. And I had then imbibed the principles of what they now call the New Philosophy. For I made no scruple of diverting from the common road of studies then in fashion to any part of useful learning. . . . On the same account, I diverted also to astronomy and geography, as parts of natural philosophy, and to other parts of mathematics; though at that time they were scarce looked upon with us as academical studies then in fashion. . . . I was early instructed in the principles of religion and catachetical divinity and the frequent reading of scripture and other good books, and diligent attend-

ance on Sermons. And whatever other studies I followed, I was careful not to neglect this. And became timely acquainted with systemattick and polemick theology, and had the repute of a good proficient therein.

Soon after my admittance into Emanuel College, I was chosen into the foundation as scholar of the house. . . . In Hilary Term (1639) [*i.e.* 1637] I took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1640 the degree of Master of Arts, and then left Emanuel College and the same year I entered into Holy Orders.

Wallis's account of his university course shows how it was attempted to pour new wine into old bottles. Formally, the curriculum and the division of studies were what they had been since the days of Scholasticism, and the typically successful student was still the "good disputant," the "wrangler." But the actual content of studies and the topics disputed were materially affected by the New Philosophy and the advance in knowledge generally. This process continued until the ancient university exercises for a degree, the periodical disputations in a Latin of sorts, were first worn threadbare and finally lost all value. By that time, the real educational work at Oxford and Cambridge was being carried on by college tutors and by private teachers who had no official connexion with the Universities, while university professorships tended to become poorly paid sinecures. The absence of academies of the continental kind was partly made good at the Universities during the seventeenth century by the presence of private teachers. Wallis, writing in the year 1700, pointed out that at Oxford private instruction was available in chemistry, physics, anatomy, botany, mathematics, French, Spanish and Italian, as well as in music, dancing, riding and other physical exercises¹.

"I do not know," says Wallis, "any part of useful knowledge proper for scholars to learn, but that, if any number of persons, gentlemen or others, desire therein to be informed, they may find those in the university [of Oxford] who will be ready to instruct them; so that if there be any defect therein, it is for want of learners, not of teachers."

But the fact did not meet the critics' point that *the university* did not organize these studies, or recognize them as parts of its customary routine of instruction.

¹ "A letter from a friend of the universities in reference to the new project of an academy," etc., in *Collectanea*, First Series, Oxford Historical Society, 1885.

CHAPTER XI

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

THE policy of uniformity in religious faith and practice prescribed by Edward VI and Elizabeth was extended as a matter of course to all the machinery of public instruction; and the accession of the Stuarts led to no relaxation of that policy. The Canons promulgated by Convocation in 1604 introduced no novelty in this respect, but they codified existing procedure. Their proscription of unlicensed schoolmasters was repeated, with the addition of a heavy fine for disobedience, by the Parliament then sitting. The relevant articles of the Canons of 1604 run as follows:

On pedagogues or schoolmasters.

77. Teaching publicly or privately without the license of the Ordinary forbidden. Nobody shall teach or instruct children [*pueros . . . erudiet*] either in a public school or in a private house, except he has first obtained a license from the diocesan bishop, or the ordinary of the place, confirmed by the hand and seal of the same; who shall be found apt and fit by reason as well of his learning and skilled faculty in teaching as for the seriousness of his morals, his integrity and true understanding of real religion; and who lastly shall have subscribed [to the supremacy of the Crown in matters civil and ecclesiastical and the orthodoxy of the Church of England].

78. Beneficed clergymen [*curati*] are to be preferred by the Ordinary, if they are capable and desire the office. In which case no other license may be granted to educate the children of that parish in which the clergyman officiates.

79. The duties of schoolmasters. All schoolmasters shall thoroughly instruct their children in the catechism, either in the longer version or in the shorter catechism heretofore published by public authority in Latin, or in English suitable to children's capacity. And so often as a sermon is to be preached upon a holyday or festival within the parish wherein they teach, they shall conduct their pupils to the church wherein the said sermon is to be delivered, they shall take care that they remain there quietly and humbly, and, at some fitting time after their return

from church, they shall call up the pupils, one by one, to examine them as to what they have learned from the said sermon. But upon other days, they shall instruct and educate them by means of texts drawn from Holy Scripture, such as seem fitting and especially useful for imbuing their minds with piety. Also the said schoolmasters shall expound and teach no other grammar than that published by authority of Henry VIII and successively continued in the times of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth of most happy memory. If any pedagogue after subscription made, as above, or license or faculty obtained, shall fail in any of the premises and shall be discovered saying, writing or teaching anything contrary to what he had previously subscribed, let him be removed from the office of teaching, unless on the Ordinary's monition he shall correct himself¹.

The national standing occupied by Church and University and the intimate connexion between them made it natural that Oxford and Cambridge should become instruments of the policy of uniformity. Under the first Stuart the Universities were "for Church and Crown"; as Parliament attained fuller power under his successor, they were in opposition to it. In the end, the Universities and, through them, the nation suffered grievously from this identification with one party in the State; but at first they undoubtedly secured advantage. This was especially the case at Oxford, whose chancellor, Laud, throughout his period of office (1630-41) never relaxed his efforts to advance learning, to reform discipline and to maintain an organization of university and college government in agreement with the political principles which he professed. The Laudian statutes of 1636 governed Oxford for some two hundred years; while they established an oligarchy which placed the colleges above the University, they infused new life into the ancient exercises for the degree and propounded a scheme of examination, chiefly *viva voce*, for candidates for B.A. and M.A. But Laud's policy was only too successful in identifying the universities with opposition to Parliament, and, so soon as it had the power, the latter proceeded to expel, first from Cambridge (1644) and later from Oxford, all who declined to acknowledge its ascendancy. Then followed in both universities a period of puritan government, equally narrow in spirit and more inimical to learning than its predecessor. From different quarters and for different reasons, voices were raised which demanded the suppression of the univer-

¹ *Constitutiones sive Canones Ecclesiastici*, 1603-4.

sities: men of eminence like Milton and Hobbes joined unknown pamphleteers in making the demand. Some regarded Oxford and Cambridge as monopolists, whose adhesion to abstract studies and neglect of modern knowledge were hurtful to the State; Milton (*Of Education*) proposed to replace them by academies of the kind advocated by Humphrey Gilbert. Others were actuated by purely obscurantist opposition to learning or political dislike of its past associations; certain members of the self-styled Parliament of 1653 (Barbones Parliament) unsuccessfully proposed the confiscation of university and college property for the benefit of the public exchequer and the remission of taxation, a measure which had the support of Milton. Two years later Cromwell as Protector forbade the private use of the Church of England liturgy and the employment of its clergy as schoolmasters.

But there were better things than party malevolence or political expediency latent in the policy of educational uniformity. From forbidding an adversary to inculcate his principles, it is not a long step to attempt the universal inculcation of one's own. The same age which saw the doctrine of religious uniformity in full vigour, also gave birth to the desire for State-supported schools. Francis Bacon repeatedly urged the duty as well as the advantage of State-maintained scientific research; Comenius carried the proposal further and, in his *Great Didactic*, drew in some detail a scheme of public instruction, including elementary and secondary schools and universities, which was to be supported by the State and imposed, as to its elementary stage, upon all members of the community. The idea of State schools and compulsory attendance thereat runs through much of the educational writing of the time. Hartlib (*Considerations tending to . . . England's reformation*, 1647), Petty (*The Advice of W.P.*, etc., 1648), the author of *Nova Solyma* (1648), Harrington (*Oceana*, 1656), Hoole (*New Discovery*, etc.) and Cowley (*A proposition for the advancement of experimental philosophy*, 1661) all show traces of it. The last-named book, which repeats Bacon's plea for the public endowment of scientific research, is remarkable for its toleration; religious and political opinions are not to bar admission to the school and college which form the essential features of the *Proposition*. But the next generation was in no mind for that sort of toleration. A Jesuit Free [Grammar] School opened in March, 1688, in Fenchurch

Street, London, announced in its prospectus that "there shall be freedom for every one to practise that religion he shall please, and none shall be less esteemed or favored for being of a different religion from Others." In the disturbance attending the revolution of 1688 this school and its adjacent chapel were destroyed by a mob and its teachers dispersed¹.

The Parliamentary records show that during the Commonwealth the provision of schools very frequently occupied the attention of the House of Commons and of its committees. In 1649 the first grant of public money for educational purposes was made by "an Act for providing maintenance for Preaching Ministers and other pious uses." Out of the sequestrated property of the Church a sum of £20,000 was to be paid annually, £2000 for supplementing the incomes of Masters of Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge and the remainder for the maintenance of ministers and schoolmasters. The yearly income of a minister was not to exceed £100, nor that of a schoolmaster £40.

The ecclesiastical policy of the Restoration was especially so directed as to place the gravest disabilities upon all educators who refused to conform to the National Church, or who adhered to the political doctrines of the Commonwealth. By the Act of Uniformity of 1662 all members of cathedral chapters and

all masters and other heads, fellows, chaplaines, and tutors of, or in, any colledge, hall, house of learning, or hospital, and every publique professor and reader in either of the Universities and in every colledge elsewhere . . . and every School master keeping any publique or private schoole, and every person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private family as a tutor or a schoolmaster

should undertake to "conforme to the liturgy of the Church of England" as it was then by law established, should abjure the Solemn League and Covenant and declare it to be unlawful to take arms against the king. The penalty of disobedience was deprivation of office "as if such person so failing were naturally dead." The Act also required the Heads of all colleges and halls in the Universities and the Heads of "Westminster, Winchester and Eaton" to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, and to their unfeigned assent and consent and approbation of those

¹ See *The Month*, September, 1916.

Articles and the Book of Common Prayer, on penalty of deprivation. The ancient jurisdiction of the local bishop over all grammar-school masters was extended so as to include domestic tutors.

If any schoolmaster, or other person instructing, or teaching, youth in any private house, or family, as a tutor, or schoolmaster, shall instruct, or teach, any youth as a tutor or schoolmaster, before license obtained from his respective archbishop, bishop or ordinary of the diocese, according to the laws and statutes of this realm (for which he shall pay twelve pence only) and before such subscription or acknowledgement made as aforesaid,

then the offender "shall for the first offence suffer three months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize," and for every second and other such offence shall suffer the like penalty and be fined five pounds. By the later Conventicle and Five Mile Acts non-conformists were forbidden to teach publicly or privately or to board and educate pupils, under a penalty of £40 or six months' imprisonment. The Test Act of 1672 forbade converts to Romanism to bring up their children in that faith.

Just as the repressive legislation of Elizabeth had driven Roman Catholics to seek education outside national institutions, so the policy of these Restoration enactments drove Protestant Nonconformists to devise separatist schools and colleges. An immediate consequence of the second Act of Uniformity was the expulsion of many teachers from the universities and grammar schools, some of whom proceeded to open colleges and schools, commonly called "academies," for the education of their co-religionists¹. The Newington Green academy, kept by Charles Morton, a former fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, was unusually well equipped,

having annexed a fine garden, bowling green, fish-pond and within a laboratory and some not inconsiderable rarities with air-pumps, thermometers and all sorts of mathematical instruments.

The academies, of course, differed in resources and in value; while their primary business was the education of ministers, many also admitted youths who had no intention of becoming ministers, but proposed to engage in commerce or to lead private lives. The presence of these lay pupils and a general openness to new ideas

¹ See *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. ix. chap. xiv., vol. x. chap. xvi. and vol. xiv. chap. xiv.

introduced into their curricula science, mathematics and modern studies at a time when these things were not included in the recognized routine of school and university. Thus, in spite of their peculiar disadvantages, they did a service for this country not unlike that rendered by the aristocratic academies of France and Germany.

Archbishop Secker (1693-1768), whose father had destined him for the nonconformist ministry, was, like his friend, Bishop Butler, and other distinguished Church of England men, educated in a dissenting academy.

I was sent to Chesterfield to the house of Mr Richard Milnes . . . at least a year before my father's death [in 1700]; and, as soon as I was of sufficient age, I went to the Free School there, of which Mr Richard Brown, a layman of irregular life, but a good scholar, was master. And there I continued, excepting short visits to my mother at Easter, whilst she lived; when some of my acquaintance enticing me sometimes to drink and sometimes to go to church, I was sent to an academy kept at Attercliffe near Sheffield by Mr Timothy Jolly, a dissenting minister. I carried with me thither a competent knowledge of Latin and not only of the Greek prose writers, but of Homer and Hesiod, Aristophanes and Sophocles. But I lost much of this learning there and acquired but little instead of it. For only the old philosophy of the Schools was taught there; and that neither ably nor diligently. The morals also of many of the young men were bad. On the whole, I spent my time there idly and ill; and after a stay of about a year and a half came away, of my own accord, to Mr Milnes's at Chesterfield. I had formed a scheme of going to Glasgow. But being disappointed of my expected company and invited by Mr John Bowes, now Lord Chancellor of Ireland, (with whom I became acquainted at Attercliffe) to his father's house in Bishopsgate Street, London, I went thither about Lady Day, 1710. And with him, who was then intended for a dissenting minister, I learnt geometry and conick sections, and algebra of Mr John Eames, who abridged part of the Philosophical Transactions. We studied also by ourselves Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding and several other books. And I learnt French likewise there. Mr Isaac Watts, afterwards the well-known Dr Watts, came to lodge and board in the same house.

Having stayed there about a year, I went to the academy of Mr Samuel Jones, a dissenting layman, part of whose education had been at Leyden. This academy had been lately set up at the house of Mr Wintl, a distiller in Gloucester. There I recovered my almost lost knowledge of Greek and Latin; and added to it that of Hebrew, Chaldee

and Syriack. We had also lectures on Dionysius's Geography, a course of lectures preparatory to the critical study of the Bible, and a course of Jewish antiquities, besides logick and mathematics. . . . In spring, or the beginning of summer, 1713, Mr Jones removed to . . . Tewkesbury. I lent him £200 towards the expenses of this removal, which he repaid me by degrees in the course of several years. Here he began to relax of his industry, to drink too much ale and small beer and to lose his temper; and we most of us fell off from our application, more or less¹.

In the sequel, Secker grew doubtful respecting the nonconformist position, withdrew from Tewkesbury in June, 1714, visited London and Paris, entered Exeter College, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner in 1721 and took the M.D. degree at Leyden in the same year.

The penal clauses of the Act of Uniformity, so far as they concerned schoolmasters, were not everywhere strictly enforced during the early years of Charles II. Thus while some seventeen obscure persons, three of whom were women, and "several women teachers," were noted in 1665 as practising without the bishop's licence in the diocese of Exeter², in other parts of England and particularly in the neighbourhood of London nonconformist academies maintained a precarious existence undisturbed by Church or State. But, during the last decade of the seventeenth century, the increasing complexity of political affairs seriously affected the attitude of the authorities towards nonconformist education. It was said that the academies clandestinely kept alive the "good old cause" of Commonwealth times and that they were disaffected to monarchical principles. Schoolmasters and tutors of quite a different way of thinking came to be regarded as favourers, if not agents, of the Pretender and the return of the Stuarts. An Act of 1701 required an oath of allegiance to King William and the Protestant succession to the crown, together with an abjuration of the Stuarts, from

all members of colledges and halls in either university that are or shall be of the foundation (being of the age of eighteen years) and all persons teaching pupils in either university or elsewhere.

¹ Archbishop Secker's Diary, or Memoir. MS. Collections of the Archbishop's Library, Lambeth.

² G. L. Turner, *Original Records of Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, vol. i. p. 178.

Those who refused this oath *ipso facto* vacated their offices, and any who ventured to exercise office without having taken the oath were liable to a fine of £500 and loss of civil rights. With the accession of Anne, active measures were proposed by the ecclesiastical authorities against the academies, which were denounced by pamphleteers and more responsible writers. Thus, a typical utterance occurs in the dedication of the third volume of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, published in 1703. Referring to Protestant dissenters it is said that

they have seminaries and a sort of universities in England, maintain'd by great contributions, where the fiercest doctrines against monarchical and episcopal government are taught and propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to your majesty's title, name and family.

The abortive Schism Act of 1714 (repealed in 1719) summarized the policy persistently urged by the House of Commons and as persistently resisted by the other House. This Act provided amongst other things that a person proposing to practise as schoolmaster, or tutor, in England, or Ireland, must subscribe to the liturgy of the Church of England and be licensed by the Ordinary, such licence being conditional upon reception of the sacrament in some parish church, the taking of the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration, and subscribing the declaration against transubstantiation. It was penal for a tutor or schoolmaster to frequent a conventicle. Teachers of reading, writing and arithmetic, of navigation and mechanical arts were not within the scope of the statute, which here aimed only at secondary and higher instruction. The exemption of the humbler teachers had been secured largely through the rulings of the Courts of Law, which were to the effect that the ancient episcopal control of teachers was not general in its scope but was strictly limited to teachers of grammar. In Cox's case (1700) the Court held that the bishop's licence could only be required in respect of a grammar school and that an ecclesiastical court had no jurisdiction over writing schools, reading schools, dancing schools, etc. In 1701 the defendant won his case because only reading and writing were taught in his school. In another instance, the Court of King's Bench refused to assist the ecclesiastical court, because the unlicensed teaching, though given in a grammar school, had not been specified in the

writ, and it was held to be essential that, to require the bishop's licence, teaching must be "teaching of letters¹."

It may be added parenthetically that Protestant dissenters became legally free to follow the profession of teaching, except at the universities and the great schools, by an Act of Parliament of 1779; Acts passed in 1778 and 1791 extended the same measure of liberty to Roman Catholics. By the date last mentioned, the requirement that masters of burgh (that is, grammar) schools should conform to the Established Kirk of Scotland had become a dead letter; but the actual statutory dispensation is dated so recently as 1861.

The bitter feeling between Church and Dissent, fomented as a partisan move during the reign of Anne, had not ceased in the interval to distract public education, whose "religious difficulty" must in part be attributed to it. The Church's success in this policy meant the diversion of numbers of the population from the schools and universities of the nation to particularist seminaries or to foreign universities; and the atmosphere and associations of Oxford especially, and of Cambridge in only a less degree, became predominantly clerical. During the eighteenth century, the nonconformist academies tried without success to free themselves from denominational ties and to educate the layman as well as the candidate for the ministry. Their teachers included some men of great intellectual distinction, who were even more ready than their predecessors to make experiments in curriculum and method.

In these respects they were followed by the private schools, which increased in number after a measure of freedom had been conferred upon the non-conforming teacher in 1779. These schools found their pupils amongst those who were intended for business, or those for whom the ordinary grammar school and university courses were for some reason unsuitable. English, French, mathematics, history, geography and some attention to physical science formed the staple of the instruction given by these schools, whose popularity during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did much eventually to break the monopoly of the ancient classical curriculum.

The academies could not hope to compete with their established

¹ On this and other cases before the Courts from 1670 to 1702, see de Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education*, pp. 170 ff.

rivals; they had neither the money nor sufficient teachers to do so. Their courses commonly attempted to embrace too many studies, and their circumstances compelled them to admit very ill-prepared pupils. In consequence, they laid themselves open to the charge of smattering; but they played their part in arousing the conviction that English school courses needed a drastic reform.

The practice, by a few private persons in different parts of the country, of maintaining or founding purely elementary schools for the poor, which had been begun under Elizabeth¹, continued, and the number of such schools probably increased during the century which followed. For example, at Lambeth in 1661 Richard Lawrence, a Commonwealth soldier, founded a charity school for twenty boys. During the period 1671-81 Dr Busby, Head Master of Westminster School, gave five or six pounds annually for instructing the poor children of the parish². The Blue Coat School, Westminster, founded in 1688 as a counterpoise to the Jesuit Free School in the Savoy, educated, clothed and, finally, apprenticed fifty boys. In 1697, Colonel Colchester, one of the five original founders of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was maintaining at Westbury on Severn a school in which sixty-seven boys and girls learned writing and reading, the horn-book, primer and New Testament.

The primary purpose of these benefactions was religious and moral, while a secondary, but still important, object was to enable the poor to earn a livelihood. Religious and benevolent persons were greatly troubled at this time by the irreligion, ignorance and careless behaviour of great numbers of the English poor; a very similar condition of things was noticeable in France and in Germany³. The apprehended danger was met in all three countries by a similar expedient, namely the erection of charity schools: and the widely extended institution of these marks a stage of development in the history of popular education. In England, their number and distribution proved that, given a central body with power to direct, the creation of a system of elementary schools was feasible. The close connexion between the Church and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the body which

¹ See Chapter viii above.

² De Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

³ See Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education*, chaps. xi-xiii.

initiated the charity schools in 1699, gave the schools a *quasi-national* standing. The combination of private maintenance and public *status* resulted in that "voluntary system" which carried on the work of public elementary instruction for the next one hundred and seventy years, while the studies of the charity school made the tradition that "the three R's" are the typical curriculum of the elementary school and the essential basis of all education.

The idea of starting a great clerical and lay association, which should include amongst its operations the religious up-bringing of the very poor, was due to Thomas Bray (1656-1730), to whom, and to the Colonel Colchester mentioned above, the original members of S.P.C.K. gave the task of considering "how to further and promote that good design of erecting catechetical schools," at first in and about London. The purpose of the charity schools was "the education of poor children in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion as professed and taught in the Church of England" and "teaching them such other things as are most suitable to their condition¹." The schools, while receiving aid, encouragement and supervision from S.P.C.K., depended mainly on the local support of patrons, voluntary subscriptions and church collections, the funds being vested in trustees who managed the schools.

School hours were from 7 to 11 and from 1 to 5 o'clock in summer, in the winter from 8 to 11 and from 1 to 4 p.m.

To the end the chief design of this school, which is for the education of poor children in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion as professed and taught in the Church of England, may be the better promoted, the Master shall make it his chief business to instruct the children in the principles thereof as they are laid down in the Church Catechism; which he shall first teach them to pronounce distinctly and plainly, and then, in order to practise, shall explain it to the meanest capacity by the help of *The Whole Duty of Man* or some good exposition approved of by the Minister. And this shall be done constantly twice a week, that everything in the Catechism may be the more perfectly repeated and understood. And the Master shall take particular care of the manners and behaviour of the poor children. . . . And in general the

¹ This and the following citation are from the 1707 issue of the annual, official *Account of Charity Schools lately erected in England, Wales and Ireland*, etc.

Master (in the business of religion) shall follow the directions of the Minister. The Master shall teach them the true spellings of words and distinction of syllables, with the points and stops, which is necessary to true and good reading and serves to make the children more mindful of what they read. As soon as the boys can read competently well, the Master shall teach them to write a fair legible hand, with the grounds of arithmetick, to fit them for services or apprentices.

The 1711 *Account* goes on to say,

The girls learn to read etc. and generally to knit their stockings and gloves, to mark, sew, make and mend their cloaths, and several learn to write and some to spin their cloaths.

In all probability, few, if any, girls learned arithmetic. The scale of payment to masters and *mistresses* of groups of children too few in number to form a school seems to indicate that arithmetic was regarded as a superior accomplishment, not often attained by boys or girls. On this scale, the teacher received half a crown when a pupil knew the alphabet, the same sum when the child could spell, five shillings when he, or she, could "read well and distinctly and say the Church Catechism, and 15s. more when he can write and cast Accompts."

The association of the school trustees with the parish churchwardens brought manual work into the charity schools, thus realizing a plan advocated, amongst several others, by John Locke. In St Margaret's, Westminster, the churchwardens agreed to let the trustees of the Grey Coat school have a large house belonging to the parish rent free for 7 years, and to let them have as many of the parish children (with the usual pensions¹ they gave their nurses) as the trustees would undertake to maintain and employ with work. Whereupon the trustees took in the 50 boys belonging to the charity school, and at several times afterwards about 50 more boys and girls on the parish account, and have set them all to work; some upon spinning of wool, others upon mending and making of shoes, others upon sewing and knitting etc. And the income of the charity and their earnings were sufficient to find them in diet, lodging and other necessities, with an overplus, till it pleased her most gracious majesty [Queen Anne] to incorporate the said school by the name of the Grey Coat Hospital in Tothill fields, in order to lay a more solid foundation for its support and maintenance. (*Account*, 1712.)

In a similar spirit, trustees at Brighton and other coast towns added "navigation" to the things taught in their schools.

¹ *i.e.* payments for board.

Children were admissible to the schools between the ages of seven and twelve. The intention was in all cases to clothe them. "The children shall wear their caps, bands, cloaths and other marks of distinction every day; whereby the trustees and benefactors may know them, and see what their behaviour is abroad." As these schools were "only designed for the benefit of such poor children whose parents or friends are not able to give them learning," the master is forbidden either to accept money from the children's friends or to teach other children. It was estimated that £75 would, in the case of a London school for fifty boys, pay for the school-room, books and firing, the master's salary and three bands, a cap, a coat, a pair of stockings and a pair of shoes for each child.

It was required formally of the charity school master that he should

be a member of the Church of England, of a sober life and conversation, not under the age of 25 years, one that frequents the Holy Communion, hath a good government of himself and his passions, of a meek temper and humble behaviour, of a good genius for teaching, who understands well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion, and is able to give a good account thereof to the minister of the parish, or Ordinary, on examination, who can write a good hand and who understands the grounds of arithmetick . . . one who is approved by the minister of the parish (being a subscriber) before he be presented to be licensed by the Ordinary.

A sense of professional obligation and a rudimentary notion of the training of teachers appear in the "order" which follows:

It will be adviseable for any new-elected schoolmaster to consult with some of the present schoolmasters of these schools, for the more ready performance of his duty. And it is recommended to them to communicate to such newly-elected master, their art and the divers methods of teaching and governing their scholars, used according to the different capacities, tempers and inclinations of the children. And moreover it will be convenient that such new-elected master have liberty on certain days to see and hear the present masters teach their scholars and upon occasion to be assisting to them in teaching; that such new master become yet more expert and better qualified for the discharge of his office.

The aims of the charity schools and their Church of England constitution commended them to Queen Anne, during whose

reign they made rapid advance in numbers. In 1707, there were in London and its immediate neighbourhood sixty-nine of these schools instructing 2813 children; five years later the numbers were 119 and 4687 respectively. The *Account* for 1712 speaks of "thousands of poor children rescued from ignorance and a vicious course of life" in "Her Majesty's kingdoms in Europe," and it refers to the existence of charity schools, or of similar schools, in British North America, India, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland and Russia, with some of which S.P.C.K. was in sympathetic communication. The prosperity enjoyed under Anne continued under George I. Bernard Mandeville (*Essay on Charity and Charity Schools*, 1723), a most prejudiced opponent of popular education, testifies unreservedly to the high esteem in which they were held and to the very general desire to assist them.

The generality are so bewitched with the usefulness and excellency of them, that whosoever dares openly oppose them is in danger of being stoned by the rabble. . . . The governors [*i.e.* the trustees] are made of the middling people, and many inferior to that class are made use of, if the forwardness of their zeal can but overbalance the meanness of their condition.

In the last year of the reign of George I (1727) charity schools existed in every county of England and Wales, Flint and Cardigan excepted, to the number of 1389, teaching 22,024 boys and 5830 girls. There were no returns from Scotland and Ireland in that year, but on the basis of the reports for 1724-5, Scotland and Ireland seem to have had 226 of these schools, teaching 4150 boys and 1058 girls. The average number of pupils per school in London was about forty, while the average throughout the British Isles was a little more than half that number. Under the second George the increase in the number of these schools ceased, and by 1760 it was clear that they had failed to fulfil the promise of fifty years earlier, while the need for popular education had become much more pressing.

This failure to develop was the consequence, to a small degree, of a defect of curriculum and method; but it was chiefly a result of the social and political circumstances which arose from the Hanoverian succession. An inordinate proportion of time was devoted to pious exercises and to the learning of formularies; incompetent teachers too frequently abused rote learning, and the

schooling often took little account of manual work and its relation to the future lives of the children, of boys especially. Still, all these faults might have been amended without great difficulty. The charity schools were distinctly the creation of the Church; to the first two Georges, the Church was but one amongst several ill-understood institutions of the country over which they ruled; and the courts of these two Germans were no more moral and much more coarse than a Stuart court had ever been. Although George I was an annual subscriber of £50 to the charity schools, they lost the enthusiastic good will which they had enjoyed while Anne was on the throne.

But the loss of royal patronage was more than a cause of the declension of these schools; it was also a token of a state of affairs which was disturbing the unity of national life. Historians of the Church of England find the Church's nadir¹ in the twenty odd years which preceded the accession of George III. The close association of Church and Crown under Anne was completely broken under the first two Hanoverians. The Crown and its Ministers gravely mistrusted the loyalty of the Church and more particularly of the parish clergy; as a counterpoise, the bench of bishops was deliberately and persistently recruited from men out of touch and sympathy with those whom they ruled, or were supposed to rule. Walpole's policy of converting the Church into an engine of State had a disastrous effect upon its spiritual office. The efficiency of the clergy sank to a low level. "Sunday duty" was too frequently the only duty performed, parish visiting and the catechizing of children were neglected. Drunkenness and lawlessness increased, while the penal system was barbarous, there being as many as 160 crimes which were punishable with death.

Owing to their origin and mode of government, the charity schools were identified with the parish clergy; and amongst these, Jacobite sympathies were rife under the first two Georges. Although there was probably but small foundation for the charge, the schools at this time were often described as instilling Jacobite principles. In 1716 the Archbishop of Canterbury (Wake) wrote to the Trustees of Charity Schools requesting them "vigorously to animadvert upon all, whether children or Teachers, who either appear or suffer them to appear at any time in publick to affront

¹ Cp. Overton and Relton, *The English Church, 1714-1800*.

the Government and bear a Part in those Tumults and Riots which are so great a Scandal as well as Prejudice to the good Order and Peace of the Realm¹." At a later time the same prelate recommended that the masters and mistresses of the schools should "sign a solemn declaration acknowledging His Majesty King George to be the only lawful and rightful King of these Realms." In 1722 the Bishop of Bristol in a sermon to S.P.C.K. expressed the hope that the teachers "instructed their Scholars truly in the doctrines of our most excellent Church without tincturing them at all with anything of those party quarrels and distinctions that so unhappily abound among us."

But unhappily party distinctions were inseparable from the charity schools in that age, and the fact is in all probability the chief reason for the ultimate failure of the schools themselves as a system of popular education. Their management and an important part of the instruction which they gave were such as to exclude children whose parents dissented from the Church. More than that, these parents could not but regard the charity schools as agents of an actively hostile Establishment, more especially while Anne was on the throne. With the accession of George III in 1760, it might have been expected that the charity schools would once more enjoy royal favour. But it was too late; the schools had dropped behind both in numbers and in public usefulness. The next movement on behalf of popular instruction created other agencies.

¹ Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 145.

CHAPTER XII

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY THEORY

THE publication in 1690 of John Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* marks the opening of an epoch in the history of education. Though the book was written with no such intention the effect wrought upon educational theory, and subsequently upon educational practice, was far-reaching and fundamental. This is more especially true of its psychological principles, which figure the mind at birth as a blank sheet and the mind's later content as a series of inscriptions upon it. The "writing" is due to the experience of the individual; as experiences differ, so does the outcome, the mental content, differ. In experience all our knowledge is founded and from that it ultimately derives itself. Our observation, employed either about external sensible objects, or about the internal operations of our minds, perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge, from whence all the ideas we have, or can naturally have, do spring. First . . . sensation . . . secondly . . . reflection¹.

Of these two, the stress of the reader's attention is thrown upon the first; and the consequence was that, when the *Essay* had permeated the philosophy of Western Europe, the accepted psychology was a sensationalist rather than an experiential one. Mental development was regarded as the result of employing the senses upon surrounding material objects, no place being assigned to any innate capacity, or disposition, of the mind itself; indeed, the French philosophers took Locke's figure of the blank sheet more literally than he himself intended, and denied the existence of any such disposition. Notwithstanding this later perversion of his teaching, Locke held that human reason, properly and persistently exercised, was competent to discover truth, and that this exercise of reason was incumbent upon men, particularly when the circum-

¹ *Essay*, bk. 2, chap. i.

stances of their lives afforded them the necessary leisure. The faculty of reason renders him who uses it independent of authority.

When all is done, this, as the highest and most important faculty of our minds, deserves the greatest care and attention in cultivating it; the right improvement and exercise of our reason being the highest perfection that a man can attain to in this life. (*Some Thoughts concerning Education*, sec. 122.)

Locke was a convinced believer in the Christian revelation; note the implied reservation in the word "naturally" as used in the quotation from the *Essay* above. Yet it is part of the irony of human things that, through the sceptical tendency of his philosophy and the sensationalist bias of his psychology, he became the source of eighteenth-century deism, and, with Voltaire and the French philosophers, a co-founder of the "Enlightenment" or "Age of Reason."

Eighteenth-century critics of contemporary education and its would-be reformers cried out against its prevalent bookishness and consequent failure to employ the senses as agents of education; the result being a stunted development and an ineffective preparation for the future. In their anxiety to promote the strictly rational and obviously useful, the innovators betrayed a hardness of temper which is shown in their carelessness, or even distrust, of appeals to imagination and emotion. The figure of the blank sheet once accepted as representing the mind at birth, and subsequent experience being regarded as the means by which a mind is evolved from this initial blankness, it followed that such a special form of experience as schooling possessed well-nigh infinite possibilities of building up the growing mind. Given further a widespread feeling of philanthropy, and the very real interest taken in popular education is easily understood, more especially when re-inforced by an anxiety on the part of rulers to maintain political predominance. On the one hand, this interest was shared by those who, like Kant and Comenius before him, regarded education as an elementary human necessity whereby the merely animal became truly human; on the other, were the "benevolent despots" who desired to keep in political subjection those whom education humanized. These corollaries of Locke's philosophy underlie the French and German educational theories of which the times were rife. So completely had the teaching of the *Essay*

concerning *Human Understanding* been absorbed by continental thought, that Locke's influence upon continental education is sometimes denied or quite forgotten.

Locke's principal pedagogical writings are *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693) and an unfinished chapter of the *Essay*, designed to apply its teaching practically, which, under the title *Of the conduct of the understanding*, appeared in 1706, two years after its author's death. The two works complete a survey of education from earliest infancy to manhood which may be included amongst books, like *Il Cortegiano*, addressed to a social class which schools and universities did not satisfy. The *Conduct* exhibits both the strong and weak points of its author's educational theory. The *Thoughts*, which was the more influential, urged a reform of the curriculum that would find a place for modern studies such as the mother-tongue, modern languages, geography, mathematics, and, for older pupils, ethics, law and rhetoric. The author's scepticism comes out in his hesitating and qualified approval of natural philosophy in this connexion; and his disregard of English and, indeed, of modern literature generally is significant of his limitations.

Following very early precedent in the literature of education, the opening sections of *Some Thoughts* treat in detail the conditions of healthy physical life during childhood. In consequence, Rousseau's *Émile*, which appeared some seventy years later, found a public much more willing to abandon what was artificial in those conditions than were the English of 1693.

Locke's psychology, since it put mental development in the foreground, naturally considers the teacher's problem of method from the pupil's standpoint. He enunciates the principle that the first requisite is that the learner shall recognize and approve the purpose for which he is called upon to learn. This sound principle is perverted when the educational value of a study is judged by its bare usefulness and by nothing else. Locke himself thus perverts it: his disciple, J. B. Basedow¹ (1723-90), carried it to the ridiculous extreme of asserting that, as theology and algebra are of no use to a prince, he should not learn them, whereas he *must* learn to dance and to mount a horse. Again, the child learns most and best when he is actively employed, since in this way his

¹ Founder of the Philanthropinum at Dessau (1774-93).

experiences are real and significant to himself. For this reason and for the sake of health, skill and recreation, Locke was one of the earliest advocates of manual instruction for all; Rousseau would have Émile taught carpentry to appreciate the dictum that every idler is a rascal. Neither Locke's pupil nor Rousseau's is under the necessity of earning a livelihood by his hand-work.

Locke appears as the student of Montaigne in the importance which he attaches to play and in the poor success which he attributes to compulsion as an inducement to learning. Here again, Basedow pushed reasonable principles to absurd lengths. In the *Philanthropinum* it was pretended that all learning was an amusement; the result may be imagined¹. Locke's plan of moral training as expounded in the *Thoughts* is based upon praise and blame, a true discipline of moral consequences. Rousseau, followed by Herbert Spencer, substituted "training" through *les suites naturelles* and thus failed to secure anything deserving the name of "discipline." It is a far cry from "natural" consequence to moral relationships. The method of teaching the mother-tongue, which is sketched in the *Thoughts*, retains its value to-day; and the conversational plan of learning foreign languages is of all plans that which Locke, following Montaigne, preferred. But Locke's most abiding claim to the attention of the English educator is the characteristic belief that amongst the many real or alleged purposes of education, the outstanding object is the up-building of character and that, compared with virtue, wisdom and good manners, learning is "last and least."

The defect of Locke's system of education, that it sacrifices imagination and sentiment to the claims of reason and exaggerates those claims, is the defect of the "Age of Reason" in general. One-sided attention to the facts of human nature in due course brought the customary reaction, and the "Enlightenment" was soon followed by the cult of sentiment. Those who like to associate a precise date, or at least a man's name, with these great movements of the human spirit, see in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, which Rousseau (1712-78) published in 1761, the dawn of a new era in which the emotional side of man regained its rights.

¹ Basedow's vagaries as an exponent of method are highly instructive and his achievements point many a warning to the rash innovator. See A. Pinloche, *La réforme de l'éducation en Allemagne au 18ème siècle*. Paris, 1889.

But in truth, the reaction against a cold, raw rationalism began early in the period of "Enlightenment" itself, grew by its side and finally culminated in that "Romantic Movement" which at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries transfigured the literatures of England and France and re-created modern German literature. "That is romantic," said F. Schlegel in 1800, "which expresses matter of sentiment in a form determined throughout by imagination only."

The very year, 1740, which serves as a starting-point for the period of "Enlightenment" in Germany, is marked in England by the publication of Richardson's *Pamela*, the first novel of sentiment, and one which rapidly secured a vogue in France. Earlier still in the reign of the second George, the Wesleys had begun their teaching, which later in the century was to be a very formidable opponent of rationalist principles and striking evidence of the power of feeling and sentiment. Winckelmann's *Thoughts on the imitation of the Ancients* (1755) and *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764), combining art criticism with classical archaeology, preceded a general aesthetic revival and a renaissance of Greek studies in Germany. The mid-eighteenth century, in short, saw a reaction from formalism in religion, learning and philosophy.

But though Jean Jacques Rousseau was not the first to insist on the claims of sentiment, his voice secured by far the largest audience. *La Nouvelle Héloïse* made an extraordinary impression upon the French public of all ranks, and more particularly upon women. It does not follow that the majority of its readers were conscious of its anti-rationalist teaching; probably they were captivated by another of its aspects, the pictures of the simple life, as the phrase was interpreted by the French middle class. But here again Rousseau was opposing the teaching of such leaders of the "Age of Reason" as Voltaire, for whom social existence was anything but a simple thing, whose ideals indeed tended to complexity and artificiality. In attacking convention Rousseau was most himself. From his first appearance as a writer, he had insisted upon the debasing influence of society upon the nature of man. "Every thing is good as it comes from the hands of the Almighty, every thing degenerates in the hands of man¹." Accepting the experiential explanation of mental development offered

¹ Opening sentence of *Émile*, 1762.

by Locke, Rousseau held that cities and civilization only corrupt those who participate in their life; the experience which brings about a true, unperverted development of man can only be found in a vaguely-conceived condition which he calls "the state of Nature." He speaks of this condition with all the confidence of ignorance; his savages, like Dryden's, are all "noble." He thinks that "nothing is duller than a peasant, nothing smarter than a savage¹." He ventures to tell the sophisticated Frenchman of the reign of Louis XV that "it is in Nature that all the true models of taste will be found²."

Accepted literally and uncritically, Locke's doctrine of development requires us to believe that the differences between man and man are purely the result of accident, or at least of the fortuitous circumstances of each man's experience. Beneath these there is an essential equality which is the chief thing. The point was seized by Rousseau and, as elaborated by him, it became the centre of vast political consequences. Dwelling upon the supposed ideal character of the "state of Nature" and upon the joys of the simple or "natural" life, and adding to these the conception of human equality, Rousseau became the champion and prose-poet of the "common man," "the man in the street." *Émile*, we learn from a passage in the Fourth Book³, possesses only a "common-place mind" (*un esprit vulgaire*), and he has been chosen by his author as a representative pupil for that very reason, so that he may demonstrate what education can do for a mind of that sort. This brings Rousseau into the line of educational thinkers, like Comenius before him and Pestalozzi at a later day, who hold that education is not a luxury for the gifted or wealthy few, but a process necessary for all in virtue of their very humanity. The general recognition of this principle was everywhere followed by a radical change in educational administration; it has scarcely begun as yet to exercise its inevitable influence upon curriculum and method.

The three books which disseminated most widely Rousseau's ideas on philosophy, religion and morals, and the practical application of these in education, all appeared within a few months of each other. *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was published in 1761 and *Le*

¹ *Émile*, bk. 2. (Garnier's edition, p. 109.)

² *Émile*, bk. 4. (Garnier, p. 390.)

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 269.

Contrat Social and *Émile* in the following year. Montaigne and Locke may be described as the ancestors of the last; its progeny is innumerable. Some of the teaching of Pestalozzi and all, or nearly all, of the teaching of Herbert Spencer on education are found in its pages. But it would be difficult to enumerate all the ideas, true and false, feasible or the reverse, which may be traced back to *Émile*. Convinced that the established social order was contrary to Nature, Rousseau makes a general principle of the statement, Do the contrary to what is usual, and you will do what is necessary and right. In the face of this principle, many of the conventions of the eighteenth century up-bringing of children, particularly in reference to their clothing and diet, stood impeached, and Rousseau's personal popularity did much to abolish them. "Follow Nature" once more became a rule of life. But following Nature meant the attainment of an exaggerated individualism which Rousseau misnamed liberty.

The first of all goods is not authority but liberty. The man truly free wills only what he is able to do and does what pleases him. That is my fundamental maxim. It only needs to apply it to childhood and all the rules of education follow¹.

Education aims at producing "the man of Nature," an egoist trained to ignore human authority and confident in his power to resist or bend natural forces. This is to be achieved by dividing the world of males into tutors and pupils in about equal numbers, and when all is done the "man of Nature" still needs a special providence, his tutor, who in turn is replaced by, not a wife, but "the married state." So long as Rousseau is discussing abstractions, *Émile's* individualism is untempered by reference to the will and feelings of others; but when such a concrete matter as handicraft is being considered, the "common man" comes by his own again, and the moral aspect of the thing is duly enforced.

I wish that some judicious person would give us a treatise on the art of observing children. Much would depend on the knowledge of this art; fathers and masters have not yet attained its elements².

The thought is a basal one in the *Émile*, which contains nothing that has had a greater, or even so great an influence upon subsequent thought and practice. Child-study received its first im-

¹ *Émile*, bk. 4, Garnier's edition, p. 64.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

pulse from passages in the *Émile* such as this; the educational theory of Froebel is based upon the considerations which it suggests. The whole attitude, not only of the teacher to the child, but of adults to children, has been revolutionized and on the whole for the better, in consequence of the utterances of a father who from their birth abandoned his own five children to the care of a foundling hospital. "Child study" is the key to the understanding of the *Émile* as an educational treatise.

It is in his recommendations concerning procedure that Rousseau's dependence upon Locke is most obvious. His method, in short, is that required by a psychology of experience. *Émile* learns through the process of discovery. "I do not wish him to *learn* geometry; I intend him to *invent* it." In a more exaggerated mood, the pupil is expected to discover the microscope and the telescope before he is allowed to use them. The motive of learning must be the desire to learn, and the actual physical surroundings must furnish both the stimulus and the material of the boy's early lessons. Above all, there must be no substitution of words and books for the things which words and books describe, and which alone can confer real experience. This is but Locke over again.

The first faculties to be formed and perfected in us are the senses. Therefore it is these which should be first cultivated; but it is precisely these which are most often forgotten or ignored¹.

In passages such as these, we have the immediate source of Pestalozzi's distinctive theory that all instruction must be based upon the pupil's first-hand familiarity, through the organs of sense, with the object concerning which he is being instructed. The words of a book or of the instructor can be no substitute for this familiarity: if the object does not admit of sensible demonstration, if it cannot be for the pupil an object of intuition, it is to that extent unfitted to serve as matter of instruction to the child. The inference follows straight from the teaching of Locke on the nature of knowledge, and is in full accord with eighteenth-century rationalism. Hence the extravagant value attached to "object-lessons" during the greater part of the nineteenth century, and the confidence entertained by many in the sufficiency of so-called "science lessons" as modes of educating boys and girls.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

But Pestalozzi, while asserting that *Anschauung*, intuition, must be the foundation of instruction, did not regard it as the all-sufficing method of education. He did not make the mistake which Rousseau often made notwithstanding his breach with Locke respecting sentiment and the emotional life generally, the mistake of regarding the intelligence as the educator's only avenue of approach to the mind of his pupil.

On the other hand, many of the beneficial practices familiar to modern schoolrooms are due to Rousseau's advocacy; for example, drawing from the object instead of from a flat "copy," the use of colour and brush, the study of the home neighbourhood as the beginning of geography and the commencement of geometry through practical exercises with pencil, compass and ruler.

The fifth and concluding book is devoted to the up-bringing of Sophie, who is intended in due course to become Émile's wife. In describing the process, Rousseau succeeded in turning his back on himself to a degree probably never before attained. This astonishing performance is thus naïvely introduced. "We have sought to form the natural man, and, not to leave the work incomplete, let us see how we ought also to form the woman *conformable to the natural man*¹." Émile is trained to be himself; Sophie is reared to be a mere appanage of some one else. Girls are to cultivate, even more than boys, that which is useful, and with the useful they should combine the agreeable; they should avoid abstract studies and works of genius. They must be early trained to endure inconvenience and restraint and to acquire a docility which they will need all their lives long, "since they never cease to be subject to a man or to the judgments of men, and since they are never permitted to be independent of those judgments²." "Every girl should be of her mother's religion, and every woman of her husband's. . . . They ought to receive the decision of their fathers and husbands as that of the Church³." Finally, "the true mater-familias . . . is no less a recluse in her home than is the nun in her cloister⁴."

Émile, in condemning the aims and methods of French education as it was then conducted, was virtually attacking the Jesuit system of education. Although the Society of Jesus no

¹ *Émile*, bk. 4, Garnier's edition, p. 417.

² *ibid.* p. 435.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 449.

longer occupied the dominant educational position it had held during the seventeenth century, it was the largest and most efficient body of educators then at work in France certainly, if not in Europe. To impeach the established form of instruction in France was in effect to bring charges against the Jesuit mode of carrying it out.

A more direct, and at the moment a much more effective attack upon the Society of Jesus and its educational system had been delivered by the Procureur-Général of the *parlement* of Rennes, Louis-René de Caradeuc de la Chalotais, who in 1763 published his famous *Essai d'Éducation Nationale ou Plan d'Études pour la Jeunesse*.

This "Essay" represents the last stage of an agitation in favour of educational reform which La Chalotais had been conducting in the *parlement* of his native Brittany, the immediate object being to induce Louis XV to consent to an inquiry and the drawing up of an entirely new programme for the secondary schools (*collèges*) of France. From the strictly pedagogical standpoint, the Essay is a series of generalities and deductions based upon the experimental psychology of Locke; La Chalotais himself says that in writing it he has only composed a commentary on the principles of Locke, Fleury and Nicole¹. Most of the catch-words familiar in educational discussions during the second half of the eighteenth century and for long after that may be paralleled in this pamphlet of 1763. Thus, the reader is told that the mind at birth is a mere *tabula rasa*, that he should be careful to teach concretely before he attempts to give abstract instruction, that utility is the great test of a study's worth, that much may be learned by way of amusement and that many things should be so learned. The mistake of replacing things by words is duly pointed out.

The maxim followed in this plan of education is that the basis of every method of teaching and learning consists in associating what is taught with ideas of Sense, with immediate perception and with simple notions. (*Essai*, p. 109.)

La Chalotais complains that, while the education of French girls is neglected, that of French boys is monkish, wanting in national feeling, remote from daily life and business; above all there is an "absolute lack of instruction upon the moral and

¹ *Essai*, p. 147.

political virtues" (*Essai*, p. 20). The explanation lies in the fact that the work is entrusted to cosmopolitan societies of persons who have renounced the world. The remedy consists in transferring a great part of it to Frenchmen who have no special ecclesiastical associations. The author then states his plan for erecting schools under royal patronage and outlines the course of instruction to be given in them.

But the true importance of the *Essay on National Education* is not to be found either in the programme of studies which it elaborated, nor in its summary of the pedagogical notions commonly entertained by the eighteenth-century followers of Locke. Its historical significance belongs to the sphere of educational administration; it gave birth to the principles, upon which the school system of France rests to-day, that the schools belong to the State and that the teaching of religion is not their business. These conceptions, which now seem so typical of the principles of the Revolution and of modern French democracy, sprang from the mind of a magistrate who held high office under an absolute monarchy, and of a Catholic who maintained that "every Frenchman ought to know what are the liberties of the Gallican Church."

Here, for example, is a passage wholly surprising when thought of as written by a lawyer who attained professional eminence in the France of Louis XV.

I claim for the Nation an education dependent upon the State alone because education belongs essentially to the State, because every nation has an inalienable and imprescriptible right to instruct its members, because in short the children of the State should be brought up by those who are members of the State. (*Essai*, p. 17.)

It must not be supposed, however, that La Chalotais was what is called a "secularist" in education, or that he was attempting to solve the problem only too familiar as "the religious difficulty." His principal aim is the removal of the Jesuit influence from the schools; his attack is one of the decisive events in the struggle between that Society and the French magistracy and universities which began with the first appearance of the Jesuits in French life during the sixteenth century. Thus, while he urges that religion is not within the province of the schoolroom, he does not propose an education with religion left out.

Children should get the elements of Christianity in the bosom of Christian families and in the instruction of the parish church. The churches are the true schools of religion. (*Essai*, p. 16.)

Nevertheless, La Chalotais is of opinion that moral instruction belongs to the school, since it is peculiarly a function of the State.

I have spoken of that morality which precedes all positive laws, divine and human; the teaching of divine laws is the business of the Church, but the teaching of morality belongs, and always has belonged, to the State; it existed before it was revealed and consequently does not depend upon revelation, although it draws its greatest strength and most powerful motives from the confirmation which revelation bestows upon it. . . . The distinction between virtue and vice, between just and unjust arises, as has been said, from reason and the very nature of things. The love of order cannot be absolutely extinguished in the heart of man; man cannot entirely abandon his reason. (*Essai*, p. 132.)

The *Essay on National Education* thus originated the conception of a national system of schools controlled by the State, giving moral and civic instruction, but omitting all religious teaching. The thinkers and the *doctrinaires* of the Revolution even in its stormiest period devoted great attention to the problem of national education. Many schemes were evolved, but the practical outcome on the positive side was small; negatively, the revolutionary projects often threatened harm to French education and culture. But, throughout, the idea of the State-controlled lay school persisted until it was, together with universal, compulsory instruction, established by law in 1882.

The attacks made upon the Jesuit Society by the French *parlements* received general support and in 1764 the Society was suppressed in France by Pope Clement XIII. La Chalotais, like Comenius before him, like Pestalozzi after him, proposed to make up for the consequent absence of a corps of teachers, by publishing a series of standard manuals which, it was absurdly hoped, would put any one, who could read, in the position of a capable instructor.

La Chalotais demanded for French children an education governed by national ideals in the place of one addressed to the less specific aims of a cosmopolitan society. Some of his contemporaries, fortified by the teaching of Plato and Aristotle and undeterred by the example of Sparta, contemplated a different pair of alternatives. They contrasted, to its disadvantage, an upbringing whose main object was the good of the individual with systems

designed to ensure stability to the executive power of the State. The theorizers of the Revolution interpreted the teaching of "moral and political virtue" from the latter standpoint. But the implied doctrine had been heard in England before the *Essay on National Education* appeared. Thomas Sheridan, who became well known later for his earnest and capable advocacy of the teaching of English rhetoric and elocution as essential to the right up-bringing of Englishmen, published in 1756 a rambling book entitled *British Education*. In this work he elaborated the thesis that

In every state it should be a fundamental maxim, first, that the education of youth should be particularly formed and adapted to the nature and end of its government. Secondly, that the principle [monarchical, republican or despotic] by which the whole community is supported ought to be most strongly inculcated on the minds of every individual. Where these rules are not observed, no state can flourish or even subsist for any length of time. The best education upon any other principles may make good men; but it cannot make good citizens. (P. 35.)

Dr John Brown, an industrious and much-read pamphleteer, agreed with Sheridan that British education was defective in this respect. His opinion, expressed in *Thoughts on Civil Liberty, Licentiousness and Faction* (1765), was that

for want of a prescribed code of education to which all members of the community should legally submit, the manners and principles on which alone the State can rest are ineffectually instilled, are vague, fluctuating and self-contradictory.

This formidable extension of the dogma of educational uniformity met its ablest opponent in Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), at that time a tutor in nonconformist academies, but famous later as man of science, philosopher and political thinker. In his *Essay on the First Principles of Government and on the Nature of Political, Civil and Religious Liberty* (1768) he expressly controverts Brown's principle. In the first place, that principle would arrest improvement.

To put education (in its present imperfect state) into the hands of the civil magistrate, in order to fix the mode of it, would be like fixing the dress of a child and forbidding its cloaths ever to be made wider or larger. (p. 74.)

Secondly, the principle aimed a blow at civil and religious freedom, a freedom which was then being vindicated by the existence and popularity amongst the middle classes of privately-conducted schools.

The only method of preserving the balance, which at present subsists among the several political and religious parties in Great Britain, is for each party to provide for the education of their own children. (p. 97.)

Finally,

Education is a branch of civil liberty which ought by no means to be surrendered into the hands of the civil magistrate, and . . . the best interests of society require that the right of conducting it be inviolably preserved to individuals. (p. 104.)

William Godwin (*Enquiry concerning Political Justice*, 1793) met Sheridan and Brown with the direct negative.

This whole proposition of a national education is founded upon a supposition which has been repeatedly refuted in this work, but which has recurred upon us in a thousand forms, that unpatronised truth is inadequate to the purpose of enlightening mankind. . . . The project of national education ought uniformly to be discouraged on account of its obvious alliance with national government¹.

The ground here taken was that held by English politicians and English opinion generally until it was partially abandoned in the Education Act of 1870. In the spirit of compromise, that measure embodied an administrative principle first clearly enunciated by a diligent, if disingenuous, student of Locke and La Chalotais, the German educator Basedow. In his *Representation to Philanthropists* ("Vorstellung an Menschenfreunde," 1768) he puts very clearly the reason for regulations which, to Englishmen of a century later, became familiar as the "conscience clause" and the "Cowper-Temple clause."

In a country containing different religious bodies, where public schools are supported at the general expense to which each inhabitant contributes, fairness requires that the benefit of these schools should be shared in common, and that no children should be excluded from the enjoyment of them on account of religion or sect. This is evident, also, because the State demands, or has the right to demand, a like loyalty and patriotism from all its children, and therefore must be free from partisanship in all political affairs. Now it is indeed neither possible nor

¹ *Enquiry, etc.*, 2nd ed. 1796, pp. 297-8.

profitable that in State schools, instruction should be lacking in the religion of the most numerous body, the religion of the country, as it is called. But strictest justice must permit parents of conscientiously dissenting religions and sects to refuse to let their children partake of this instruction, while nevertheless the children must not in consequence be deprived of the advantage of learning purely secular branches of knowledge. To this end, instruction must be of such a kind that neither teachers nor text-books may take the opportunity afforded by secular studies to advance anything respecting the falsity or truth of any one of the religions professed by the inhabitants, still less to affirm any enmity. (Sec. 22.)

In *Das Elementarwerk* (1774) Basedow describes his ideas of educational reform and the plans to be followed in his own institution, the Philanthropinum. The teaching of religion in this school was in principle what is known to-day as "confessionless" or "undenominational." That is to say, while denominational teaching was given apart to children of different religious bodies, Basedow aimed at securing a religious instruction acceptable to all deists, or theists, in the form of what he called "natural religion," by which he meant

the dogmas of one God and his providence, the immortality of the soul and a future requital of good and evil, as they might be proved (or, rather, commended) to a thoughtful, carefully instructed person without prior belief in a revelation, simply through consideration of ourselves and all nature by a rational exercise of the duty of belief. Deists, Jews, Christians and Muhammadans are quite agreed that what I have laid down in this work respecting religion is useful and wholesome truth for the good of the individual and of the State. (Bk. iv, final paragraph.) This attempt to maintain religious freedom and unity of curriculum in the face of religious differences has never been countenanced by Basedow's countrymen. Introduced by Joseph Lancaster into England in 1803, it has been a very powerful administrative principle here since 1870, although the concrete shape which it took was not that devised by Basedow. The English "voluntary system" was intended to reconcile freedom of individual opinion with the interest of the community in the education of its members. The practical difficulty was the enormous burden of expense which the community itself alone could sustain. This difficulty turned the convinced individualist, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) into one of the founders of the strictest of State school systems, that of Prussia.

CHAPTER XIII

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PRACTICE

IN striking contrast with the active discussion and theorizing about education then prevalent, English public schools and universities suffered throughout the eighteenth century from considerable fluctuation in the number of their pupils. In this respect, Winchester reached its lowest point in 1751 with eight commoners instead of the ninety-three in residence fourteen years earlier¹. Eton and Westminster were at this time regarded as the leading public schools and their most typical examples. The latter, which taught 434 boys in 1727, numbered 250 to 300 from 1765 to the end of the century. Eton under the headship of Barnard (1754-65) had over 500 pupils; under his successor (Foster, 1765-88) the number sank to 230. During the years 1791-1800, Barnard's level was again nearly reached under Goodall. On the other hand, Harrow (from 1760) and Rugby from Thomas James's time (1778-94) both advanced in numbers and in social importance under former Eton masters.

Oxford and Cambridge of course suffered in accord with the vicissitudes of the schools; but the prevalent clericalism of both, and the Jacobite sympathies of Oxford during the first half of the century, were even more effective in reducing the number of pupils and senior residents. Fewer "lads" came up and even fewer remained to complete the course for a first degree. At Oxford, the annual number of admissions, which had often exceeded 300 in the reigns of Anne and George I, never reached that number between 1726 and 1810, while it often fell below 200 in the mid-century².

¹ To these numbers must be added the seventy foundationers in both years and sixteen choristers at the earlier date. The number of commoners is the better index of the school's position.

² G. C. Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College*.

The disfavour into which the public schools fell is reflected in Locke's *Thoughts*, whose adverse criticism lost little of its point during the eighteenth century. The chief complaint then made against them was that their life was very rough, their discipline harsh and their morality lax, faults which a higher social standard of living brought into greater relief than had been possible in times less cultivated. The evil was the greater since it was customary to send boys away from home to school at so early an age as six, or seven. As late as 1750, boys at the great schools were sometimes accompanied by their private tutors; and Vicesimus Knox (master of Tunbridge School, 1778-1812), who was at Oxford from 1771 to 1778, thought the practice most advisable in the case of undergraduates also. The schools were insufficiently staffed and there was little or no supervision during out-of-school hours, when boys were largely left to themselves and their own devices. Eighteenth-century schoolmasters had not reached an appreciation of games as healthy fillers of spare time; still less did they recognize their educative importance. Cricket at Eton and Westminster dates from about 1730-40; football (which Butler of Shrewsbury thought fit only for "butchers' boys") had been played after a fashion since the Middle Ages. These games and boating were, at most, tolerated by the authorities. The first inter-school cricket match was played between Eton and Westminster in 1796, when the Eton eleven was twice beaten, first by the Westminsters on Hounslow Heath, and, again, on the next day by their own headmaster as punishment for absence from school.

Contempt for outside opinion, a pedantic adherence to old custom and refusal to consider the boy's point of view frequently brought about insubordination, which occasionally broke out in mutiny. Eton and Westminster were notorious in this respect; open rebellion occurred at Eton in the years 1728, 1743, 1768, 1783, 1810, 1832. The Riot Act was read at Winchester in 1770; and the same school "rebelled" in 1774, 1793, 1818. Similar disorders took place at Harrow in 1771 and 1818, and at Rugby in 1797 and 1822.

While for these reasons there was a growing public opinion adverse to the great schools, it was admitted that their standard of classical instruction was high. But that instruction did not satisfy parents of the middle class, who, during the reign of

George III, were becoming wealthy and powerful, and, to meet whose wishes, private enterprise established schools which gave a more modern type of curriculum. Indeed, the classes who might have been expected to use the public schools and universities freely had come to regard their instruction as much more suitable for the mere scholar and clergyman than for the members of an aristocratic, land-owning class. Many of the members of that class who did find their way to Oxford or Cambridge were dissipated and idle, and university discipline was unable to keep them in order, or remained indifferent to their behaviour.

It is therefore not surprising that a large number of boys from these families and their connexions were, in the days of Anne and the first two Georges, educated at home by tutors, and that foreign travel, or a sojourn in one of the Inns of Court, took the place, in such cases, of an English university. Locke's *Thoughts*, intended as a handbook of domestic education, again furnishes illustration, and Rousseau's *Émile* repeats it for France. The disinclination to use the public schools passed away before the prosperity of Harrow and Rugby; but it was not until the reforms initiated by Butler and Arnold had taken effect that the conflicting ideals of the scholar and the man of affairs reached a working reconciliation.

Yet, beneath their somnolent appearance, great changes were taking place at Oxford and at Cambridge. The struggle between the university and its colleges, chronic since the days of Elizabeth, had now reached a stage at which the university seemed utterly defeated. At Oxford two professors in three, and at Cambridge one professor in two, did not lecture; the professors who did lecture had few auditors. The instruction of undergraduates was the business, not of these specialist teachers appointed by the university, but of the college tutors, whose qualifications were not necessarily of a specialist kind. The fact meant that the English universities were regarded not so much as places of learning, as advanced schools which continued the education begun in the schools below them. This was at a time when the German universities, by erecting the Leaving Examination (1788) between school and university, had begun a development which in the end terminated their purely educative career and made them, not "schools," but homes of research and teachers of method.

The university exercises for a degree were merely formal; their farcical character testifies to the neglect which had fallen upon the university system itself. The mediaeval disputations which, at some periods in their history, were veritable wit-combats, had at Oxford degenerated into "doing generals," that is, the repetition from memory of stock syllogisms, whose matter was traditional and constant, and, says V. Knox, "of the formation, or the signification of which the respondent and opponent seldom knew more than an infant in swaddling clothes." Some ability to construe Latin and Greek, and the mastery by rote of "schemes, . . . little books containing forty or fifty questions on each science" (traditional, like the "strings" used in "doing generals") sufficed to satisfy "answering under bachelor" and the "examination" of the same perfunctory sort which completed the exercises for the degree of B.A. The Oxford Master's degree called for a round of similar obsolete performances known as "determining," "doing quodlibets," "doing Austins" and delivering "six solemn lectures." These last were commonly called "wall lectures," from the absence of hearers¹; they were usually "taken as read."

The course of instruction given in public school and university, as it was reflected in statutory exercises and regulations, is thus summarized by Thomas Sheridan, whose own education had been gained at Westminster and Trinity College, Dublin.

When a boy can read English with tolerable fluency, which is generally about the age of 7 or 8 years, he is put to school to learn Latin and Greek; where 7 years are employed in acquiring but a moderate skill in those languages. At the age of 15 or thereabouts, he is removed to one of the universities, where he passes four years more in procuring a more competent knowledge of Greek and Latin, in learning the rudiments of logick, natural philosophy, astronomy, metaphysics, and the heathen morality. At the age of 19 or 20 a degree in the arts is taken and here ends the education of a gentleman. (*British Education*, p. 17.)

But this is to pass over the work of the college tutor and the effect of studies which lay outside routine. Though university regulation was silent on the subject, English composition and some knowledge of English literature were exacted by the colleges from their serious students. Even the formal disputations were made

¹ V. Knox, *Essays, moral and literary* (1782), vol. I. "On some parts of the discipline in our English universities."

to bear some traces of life and vigour by treating them as vehicles for discussing modern branches of knowledge. At Cambridge, the philosophy of Newton, the very foundation of scientific thought, was employed in this way from the first years of Anne's reign. The reform of university examinations was long preceded by the employment of college examinations more in accord with the current progress of knowledge. Outside the colleges and completely independent of the university system, private teachers gave instruction in modern languages, chemistry, anatomy and botany.

Dr John Keill was the first who taught natural philosophy by experiments in a mathematical manner; for he laid down very simple propositions, which he proved by experiments, and from these he deduced others more compound, which he still confirmed by experiments, till he had instructed his auditors in the laws of motion, the principles of hydrostatics and opticks and some of the chief propositions of Sir Isaac Newton concerning light and colours. He began these courses at Oxford about the year 1704 or 1705, and that way introduced the love of the Newtonian philosophy.

The writer is J. T. Desagulier (*A course of experimental philosophy*, 1734), who himself delivered a similar course at Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1710, on Keill's retirement; from 1713 Desagulier resided in London, where these experimental lectures were "generally received among persons of all ranks and professions, and even the ladies."

Nearly twenty chairs, chiefly in scientific and mathematical studies, were established at the English universities during the eighteenth century. The regius professorships of modern history founded at Oxford and Cambridge by George I in 1724 were more helpful at the outset to the study of modern languages than to their proper subject. Still, like the foundation by George II of the ultra-modern university of Göttingen (1734-7), these benefactions illustrate the interest then felt in a re-casting of the higher courses of instruction. Even the claims of "useful knowledge" were not invariably ignored. In 1786, Richard Watson, then bishop of Llandaff but formerly professor of chemistry at Cambridge, proposed to introduce lectures upon agriculture and commerce in the universities; William Farish, a successor of Watson's in the chemistry chair, inaugurated his work in 1794 by delivering a course in "a new and useful field of instruction," "the application of chemistry to the arts and manufactures of Britain."

During the same period the reforms in discipline and studies effected through college examinations were extended to the university exercises. The formal disputations survived as forms; there was an "Act" at Cambridge so lately as 1839. But the persistent agitation in favour of a real test of knowledge, which members of both universities conducted in the earlier years of George III, led at Oxford to the promulgation in 1800 of the Public Examination Statute, which in effect replaced the ancient oral tests by written examination and introduced the differentiation of candidates into pass- and honours-men. The same change took place much earlier at Cambridge, where the Senate House examination from 1780 onwards was the real test applied to candidates for the B.A. degree. Until 1822, when the Classical Tripos was instituted, there was but one tripos, the subjects of examination being mathematics, natural religion, moral philosophy, and Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*.

It is not difficult to maintain the charge of stagnation against the English universities in the days of the first Hanoverian kings. Yet facts such as those just mentioned are evidence of life at work behind appearances. If we turn from purely academic matters to the relation of the universities to national life at large, we remember that the Oxford methodism which marked the early years of George II was followed by the evangelical revival of religion at Cambridge in the later years of that king and the former half of the long reign of his successor. The last quarter of the eighteenth century was also marked in that university by a long and only very imperfectly successful movement against the imposition of religious tests as conditions of a university education. The prominent actors in this movement belonged for the most part to the newly formed body of Unitarians.

Dr Thomas James (1748-1804), who was a boy at Eton, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and head master of Rugby from 1778 to 1794, has left accounts, in great detail, of the instruction given at the two schools with which he was intimately acquainted. These accounts may be accepted as representative of public school practice in organization, aims and method during the first forty years of the reign of George III¹. The strictly classical

¹ Abridgements of James's two MSS. are printed in Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte's *A History of Eton College*, chap. xvi. and Samuel Butler's *Life and Letters of Samuel Butler*, chap. iii.

curriculum was, in the school slang of the day, the boys' "business," that by which they were educated; but they also had the opportunity of learning, outside the regular school-hours, certain "accomplishments," while it was further expected that they would spend part of their abundant leisure in miscellaneous private reading, guided by the advice of their tutors. But these things were not "business." Lord Eldon, accepting Samuel Johnson's definition of a grammar school as "a school in which the learned languages are grammatically taught," ruled in the Court of Chancery in 1805 that such a school could use its endowment for no other purpose and that it was illegal for Leeds Grammar School to spend its endowed funds in teaching modern languages or commercial subjects. It was not till 1840 that by the Grammar Schools Act power was given to Courts of Equity to extend the course of a particular school "to other useful branches of literature and science" in addition to Latin and Greek, or, if funds were not sufficient to provide teaching in those languages, in lieu of them.

James particularizes the school "business," describing the exercises for the several forms in grammar and composition and enumerating the Latin and Greek authors read, as well as the handbooks of geography and history which elucidated the classical writers. According to the practice then customary in all grammar schools, the small boys of Form I gave up most of their time to memorizing the Latin Grammar, much as their predecessors of the past thirteen hundred years had done. In Form III boys began the Greek Grammar; the writing of Latin elegiacs followed at this point, or on passing to the Upper School. The fifth form composed three Latin exercises every week, *viz.* an original theme of not less than twenty lines, a copy of verses of not less than ten elegiac couplets, and five or six stanzas of lyrics on the same subject as the other verses. In the sixth form, the theme and verses were rather longer, and Greek iambics took the place of Latin lyrics. These three exercises were written in play time, and were shown up to the master at repetition lessons.

James gives the following general advice to Butler as a guide to practice at Shrewsbury: "Always have in *all* forms at least one English exercise a week. Mind the spelling." Knox (*Liberal Education*, 1781) names the grammar school apparatus: there were many auxiliary manuals, but the indispensable books in general use were *Lily's Grammar*, or its "useful abbreviation, the

Eton grammar," Ainsworth's Latin-English dictionary (1736), or, in the lower forms, "the little portable dictionary compiled by Entick," the Eton Greek grammar, or that written for Westminster by two former head masters, Edward Grant (1572-93) and William Camden (1593-9) the antiquarian. For Greek, "Schrevelius's Lexicon is with great propriety every where used." The Delphin Classics "are almost universally received" as standard school texts of authors, but Knox disapproves of them because of their annotations. "The dictionary, the grammar and the living instructor constantly near, are the only allowable auxiliaries."

Dr James thus lays down the true function of half-holidays.

Saturday is a half-holiday, and of course (like other half-holidays) is for writing, dancing, French, drawing, or even fencing—as it is now taught at Rugby. . . . The three half-holidays on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday are excellent things both for master and boy, leaving exercises and masters of accomplishments to fill them up. If you are obliged to give a whole holiday, suffer it not to pass without a regular exercise, by way of rider to direct it and preserve it from wild schemes and excursions.

In other words, these half-holidays gave a respite to boys and masters from the daily routine; but, in order to keep boys out of mischief, it was thought necessary to provide occupation which was so easy in character that it was not out of place on a holiday. French, arithmetic, writing and drawing were believed to meet these requirements.

The Eton practice was the same as that followed at Rugby.

All the boys had to repair to the School from 10 to 11 o'clock and from 2 to 3 on holidays, and from 2 to 3 on half holidays. During these hours, the younger boys were exercised in writing and in arithmetic, while some of the Fifth Form were learning Geography [chiefly ancient geography] or Algebra. Those who stayed at Eton long enough went through part of Euclid¹.

It was not till 1851 that mathematics became a part of the regular school-work, and even at that date those who taught the subject were not regarded as persons of full standing on the staff of masters.

The value of private reading no doubt varied greatly from boy to boy, and with the circumstances of the school at different times. Cowper, who was at Westminster from 1741 to 1749, read

¹ Lyte, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

some of Milton's poems and the whole of Homer in Greek on his own initiative, or on that of the school-fellow who read with him. A boy who was at school under Goodall (1792-1802)

has left a record of the books which he read at Eton for his own amusement and instruction: Ariosto, Voltaire's *Louis XIV* and *Charles XII*, Rousseau, Gibbon, Rowley's *Poems* and Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*¹.

Writing of the same school in 1766, or a little earlier, James says,

The sixth form boys and the fifth are supposed to read at their leisure hours Dr Middleton's *Cicero*, Tully's *Offices*, Ovid's long and short verses, Spectator etc., Milton, Pope, Roman History, Grecian History, Potter's *Antiquities* and Kennet's and all other books necessary towards making a compleat scholar².

He sent to Butler a long list of books thought suitable for the Rugby boys' private reading; its chief feature is the preponderating number of abridgements, selections, manuals and similar indications of an illiberal point of view³. While the public schools jealously maintained unbroken the ancient course of study, they did a little to impress on boys that literature was not exclusively Greek or Latin, and that there were fields of knowledge which those languages did not display.

Latin ceased to be spoken at Westminster in Vincent's time, 1788-1802; at that date, it had so degenerated at the English universities that it was no longer worth speaking, though it was retained for the "Acts" and other formal degree exercises. The schools, though still under-staffed, had larger staffs and the masters were better paid than formerly. At Rugby, a school, in 1794, of 245 boys, James had six assistant masters, as well as teachers of writing and accomplishments; this average of forty-one per master he seems to have regarded as about eight too many. His house was rent-free and his annual income exceeded £1000, out of which he paid nearly £300 to his assistants. Richard Roberts, head master of St Paul's from 1769 to 1814, received an income of over £600, after paying his staff eighty guineas. At this time Eton and Westminster, at least, were associated with a few preparatory schools, or with private teachers who prepared little boys to make a fitting entry amongst their elders. The children sometimes came to these teachers at four, or five, years of age; a seven-year-old

¹ Lyte, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

² Lyte, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

³ See Butler, *Life*, etc., vol. i. pp. 36 f.

pupil felt himself one of the seniors. They were taught writing, arithmetic, dancing and French; in some cases they made a beginning in Latin, after "the French way," which, Lord Chesterfield explains deprecatingly, "is only knowing a great many Latin words and some Latin phrases by rote, but without grammar or syntax."

English educational practice was less deeply affected by the theoretical speculations of the eighteenth century than by the material circumstances amidst which Englishmen then lived. The expansion of commerce and banking, the growth of a colonial empire and, above all, the extraordinarily rapid establishment of the industrial system changed the whole aspect of society. The new philosophy of the seventeenth century, practised, in Bacon's phrase, "for the relief of man's estate," if not "for the glory of God," then bore abundant fruit in the discoveries of applied science and in mechanical inventions, which economized labour, vastly increased the opportunities for employing capital and quickly wrought an industrial revolution. Population was redistributed, great centres of industry arose on the northern and midland coal-fields. Trade and manufacture created a new order, "the middle classes," whose most prosperous members rivalled the landed aristocracy in wealth, whilst the remainder enjoyed a considerable measure of well-being. But as wealth increased for the few, dire poverty also increased for the many; the period between 1790 and 1820 was perhaps the darkest ever endured by the English poor, nor did the gloom grow much brighter during the succeeding generation.

The wealthier men of the new middle class, whose prosperity depended upon the practical application of science and other forms of useful knowledge, were disinclined to approve the course of studies followed at Eton, Westminster and those grammar schools which abided by tradition and their statutes.

The severe and proper discipline of a grammar school is become a common topic of ridicule; and few young gentlemen, except those who are designed for some of the learned professions, are made to submit to the rigours of it¹.

Nor could these schools satisfy parents who sought for their boys a direct preparation for the counting-house, shop or factory. For

¹ J. Priestley, *Essay on a course of liberal education*, 1760-4.

the increasing number of girls whose parents lived in easy circumstances there was no public educational provision.

Naturally, the demands of the humbler and more numerous middle-class families were met first. Private enterprise established schools, commonly called "academies," which began by adding, to rudimentary teaching of Latin, instruction in those branches of mathematics which could be applied practically in the business "office" or aboard ship. As the position of these schools became more assured, the "academies" devoted themselves chiefly to teaching English, writing, commercial arithmetic, history and geography. James Nelson, writing in 1763, says that "young gentlemen at an academy indeed sometimes learn a little drawing" (an art more commonly practised by their sisters), since the Society of Arts (founded 1754) has made the learning of drawing "far more general a study" than hitherto.

The education of Rousseau's Sophie as it is sketched in the *Émile* is not an ideal, but a literal statement of what French and English society then thought necessary and sufficient for the proper up-bringing of girls. An exceedingly popular book, frequently reprinted between 1774 and 1828 and translated into French and Italian, Dr Gregory's *A father's legacy to his daughters*, contains this significant advice:

Be even cautious in displaying your good sense. It will be thought you assume a superiority over the rest of the company. But if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding.

Similarly, another popular writer on girls' education, Mme de Genlis, was of opinion that

a taste for the sciences rendered women singular, and sundered them from the simplicity of their domestic duties and from the society of which they are the ornament. (*Adèle et Théodore*, 1782.)

The majority of girls whose parents paid for their instruction (whether in school or at home) were taught English, writing, arithmetic so far as it related to "keeping accounts," drawing, needlework, dancing and a little French. The complaint was general that women spelled badly and that their writing was not good. In more restricted social circles, the curriculum of girls' schools was enlarged by the addition of music and Italian. Mrs Cartwright asserts

(*Letters on female education*, 1777) that "dancing and a knowledge of the French and Italian languages . . . now form part in the education of every female whose parents have the least pretensions to taste." The watchword of girls' education was "Useful and ornamental," with the stress upon the second adjective; a time came when it was hard to distinguish between "ornamental" and "superficial."

The private schools which gave this new type of instruction both to girls and boys were almost all boarding schools. They varied greatly in efficiency, and some were merely pretentious, their prospectuses being drawn up, as Mary Wollstonecraft said, to "bubble" parents. Charges varied also. From a list of boys' private schools drawn up in 1771, it would seem that the average payment for board, lodging and tuition was from £25 to £30 a year; the actual charges in the list range from £16 to £50. Board and education at St Paul's School in the same year cost £35. 14s. A typical "Boarding School for Young Ladies" was that conducted by Mrs Whitney at Buckingham. Here "board, lodging, washing, reading, plain and fine needlework" cost twelve guineas a year; writing and dancing, being optional, cost five shillings and half a guinea respectively. "Tea and sugar for the year, if required, one guinea." Thomas Weale, under date July, 1775, writes "To Baddow, where I left [my daughter] Polly as a parlour-boarder at 25 guineas p.a. and 5 guineas entrance." The same writer refers to the "cheap Yorkshire schools" which Dickens set in the pillory some sixty years later.

They tell me there are masters (somewhere near Borrowbridge or Penrith) who will board, schooll and clothe boys for £10 p.a. . . . John and Thomas Kirby at Catterick near Richmond in the North Riding, Yorkshire, £12. 12s. pr ann. board, schooll, wash, cloth, shoes, linnen, reading, writing, Lattin, Greek, French, Arithmetick, navigation, mathematicks, etc. But now they have raised it £14. 14s., and 2d. per week to be allowed each boy for pocket mo., out of which they buy pens, ink, etc., etc.¹

But whatever the faults, or weaknesses, of these private schools, they were more ready to experiment than their better established leagues, and it is to their influence, more than to any other, that subsequent reforms in curriculum can be traced. They were

¹ See H. J. Weale, *My Grandfather's Pocket-book*, 1883.

especially distinguished by the attention which they gave to instruction in the vernacular. "Reading and speaking English correctly" were amongst the distinctive aims of academies and boarding schools, both for boys and girls. Such books as *The Speaker* (1774) of William Enfield, and Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* (1795) owed their great circulation and long-continued popularity to their use as text-books in the academies and boarding schools. The *English Grammar*, which was in its 28th edition by 1816, aimed at a careful selection of matter ("the most important definitions, rules and observations . . . most proper to be committed to memory") and the use of a larger type for those portions of the book which were to be mastered first. In spite of some improvements, the author did not free himself entirely from the grammarian's obsession by technical terms. Enfield's *Speaker* did much to encourage a knowledge of English literary masterpieces, for which it drew liberally upon Shakspeare, Sterne and Pope.

The children of the poor suffered especially under the conditions which the new industrial system brought into the life of the labouring class. Long hours of work, begun even in early childhood, left neither time nor strength for schooling; and too many of their elders showed indifference to the manners and conduct of the children. Juvenile crime reached disquieting proportions and penalties were excessive and inhumane, even when mitigated by the judge, or by means of some kindly intentioned legal subterfuge. The philanthropists, whose self-imposed tasks made them acquainted with the very poor at close quarters, repeatedly refer to the uncivilized and brutal conditions of their lives. Yet the desire for knowledge and amendment was not wanting amongst poor parents, as the number of dames' schools and similar agencies of instruction goes to show. Mrs Sarah Trimmer, writing in 1801, declared that

every town and most villages have their schoolmasters who keep evening schools for those who cannot attend in the day-time; and such charitable persons as wish to bestow it as a favour upon a poor boy, or girl, may, at the expence of half a year's schooling, give a sufficiency of writing and arithmetic to answer every purpose of humanity. Besides, the desire for these acquirements is so general amongst the poor that parents will for the most part contrive that their children shall attain them. (*The Oeconomy of Charity*.)

Joseph Lancaster, who began life as the proprietor of a school of this kind about the period 1796-8, writing in 1803, estimated that in and about London 25,000 children were being taught in very humble private schools at an annual cost to their parents of about one pound per head (*Improvements in Education*). The pupils were of both sexes and most of them were very young; reading and needlework formed the bulk of the instruction, except in the more ably conducted schools, where writing and summing were also taught. The number of pupils in any one school varied with the seasons and the weather; rooms and furniture were nearly always unsuitable for the purposes of a school, and the teachers found it difficult to collect the fee, usually fourpence per week. The teachers were seldom competent; Lancaster insinuates that the men were not only ignorant but drunken. Mrs Trimmer regretted that the bishop's licence was not necessary for keeping a school of this kind; but this arose from her fear that the teachers propagated infidelity and sedition.

The failure of these attempts to enlighten popular ignorance was patent to the philanthropists, who were still more distressed by the prevalence of irreligion and irregularity of life, particularly amongst the poor of cities and large towns. As early as 1699, the idea had occurred to M. de la Chétardye, *curé* of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, that the vacant hours of Sunday might be used for instructing the youths of his parish, whose disorderly behaviour on that day was a public scandal. The thought took shape in a "Christian Academy," conducted by St Jean Baptiste de la Salle and his Brethren of the Christian Schools. Here some 200 young men and boys were taught religion and the three R's, the more advanced also receiving instruction in geometry and drawing¹. This early French Sunday school, which came to an end within four or five years, had no real successors; the English Sunday Schools offered a much more restricted course of instruction. In 1765, Theophilus Lindsey, later one of the originators of the Unitarian body, but at that time a Church of England clergyman, held Sunday classes in his vicarage at Catterick, in the North Riding, for the religious instruction of the young people of his parish. But it was not till 1780 that a general movement for establishing Sunday Schools began. In that year, Thomas Stock, curate (afterwards rector) of

¹ See J. Guibert, *Histoire de S. Jean-Baptiste de la Salle*. Paris, 1901.

St John the Baptist, Gloucester, and Robert Raikes, proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*, opened four schools in their city for the instruction on Sunday of children who would otherwise be roaming the streets and getting into mischief. Raikes long survived his colleague (who seems to have originated their plan), and his connexion with the press enabled him to inaugurate a great national movement, whose success was assured by the establishment in 1785 of the Sunday Schools Union.

The first object of the Sunday Schools was religious and moral instruction, for which purpose the children were taught to read, the New Testament being the customary primer. Reading, the memorizing of catechism, texts and hymns constituted the teaching in the great majority of these schools; but some also taught writing and, fewer still, summing. Statisticians in the early years of Victoria's reign regularly included Sunday Schools, their million pupils and their seventy or eighty thousand teachers amongst the national provision of education. But their limited opportunities and the difficulty of finding competent teachers only allowed them, as a whole, to teach religion and, very imperfectly, the art of reading. Nor were those wanting who thought that this was a sufficient education for the children of the poor.

Mrs Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810) opened a Sunday School at Brentford in 1786, which interested her neighbour at Kew, Queen Charlotte, on whose suggestion *The Oeconomy of Charity* was written and first published in that year. Mrs Trimmer's fame as a writer on the religious instruction of children, and the royal patronage of this book, did much to increase the number of Sunday Schools throughout the country. A benevolent and public-spirited lady, Mrs E. Denward (1710-1806), offered to provide Mrs Trimmer, for the benefit of the Brentford poor, with a kind of spinning wheel

so constructed that eighteen small children might spin at the same time, which twists the threads of itself at the pleasure of each spinstress. "I am very anxious for the success of it," says Mrs Denward, "for if yours answers, I shall then get one here [*i.e.* Hardres Court, Canterbury, her home] for the poor girls, who are too often idle for want of employment; as to the boys, they spend two or three hours every day in gardening, agriculture, hedging, digging, etc.¹."

¹ Some account of the Life and Writings of Mrs Trimmer, 1814. The quotation is from a letter written in December, 1786.

This humble Kentish experiment, the adoption of the spinning wheel in Brentford and the publicity attaching to Mrs Trimmer's projects together led to the very general institution of what were called "Schools of Industry," which "mixed labour with learning." The instruction which these gave to the very poorest children was in most cases limited to some forms of partially remunerative handwork and to religion; more was attempted later when the Schools of Industry were maintained by philanthropic societies or as offshoots of the penal or poor law systems. At Lewisham in 1796 the School of Industry was maintained from parochial rates; children were taught spinning, winding, knitting, and reading. The school in Bamborough Castle, as described by Mrs Trimmer in 1801, was exceptional; here sixty girls learned to spin, knit, sew and mark; they were also instructed in religion, psalmody, reading, writing and the elementary parts of arithmetic.

The reputation as a popular writer attained by Hannah More (1745-1833), her social connexions and her well-known sympathy with the Evangelical party in the Church made her doings matter of public interest. On that account, the success of the schools which, assisted financially by William Wilberforce and other philanthropists, she and her sister, Martha, organized in Somerset, did much to advance the new movement. Distressed by the vice and ignorance prevalent amongst the poor of the Mendips and undeterred by the indifference, or hostility, of the few well-to-do residents, the sisters opened a Sunday School at Cheddar in the year 1789. By the close of the century, they had established in a dozen adjacent parishes Sunday Schools and Schools of Industry, conducted by more than thirty masters and mistresses and giving instruction to some 3000 children in religion, reading, sewing, knitting and spinning. The difficulty and the value of this achievement may be inferred from what Hannah More says of the children's parents in the early days of her work.

A great many refused to send their children unless we would pay them for it; and not a few refused, because they were not sure of my intentions, being apprehensive that at the end of seven years, if they attended so long, I should acquire a power over them, and send them beyond sea¹.

¹ Hannah More to Wilberforce, Wm Roberts, *Memoirs of the life and correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*, 1834, vol. i. p. 390. A similar foolish story

On the other hand, when a new school was projected in one of the parishes,

a farmer of £1000 a year, let us know that we should not come there to make his ploughmen wiser than himself; he did not want saints, but workmen. His wife, who, though she cannot read, seems to understand the doctrine of philosophical necessity, said, "The lower classes were *fated* to be poor and ignorant and wicked; and that as wise as *we* were, we could not alter what was *decreed*."

These dogmas were less insisted on when it was discovered that subscriptions would not be requested¹. Within a quarter of a century from their beginning, the sisters' schools instructed upwards of 20,000 boys and girls, children for the most part of miners and colliers.

Sunday Schools and Schools of Industry, like the benevolent labours of such men as John Howard, William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson, were local forms of an active philanthropy which was widespread in Europe at that time. The consciousness of human solidarity, and of a consequent obligation towards the poorer members of the community, lay behind the measures of educational reform then initiated in Central Europe. It is true that, while the motive of the English philanthropists was almost invariably a religious one, the "Benevolent Despots" were actuated by motives largely political; yet it would be unjust to deny to the latter a share in the humanitarianism which moved so many of their contemporaries.

Apart from other reasons of dissatisfaction with the Society of Jesus, their system of secondary education, once the admiration of Europe, was, when La Chalotais wrote, sadly out of date. An education, virtually restricted on its secular side to the practice of Latin rhetoric and to the scholastic philosophy which ignored Descartes and Locke, could not fail to arouse opposition in an age when rationalism and utilitarianism, the developed fruits of Locke's teaching, were more or less prevalent. As early as 1760, Maria Theresa had begun a re-organization of Austrian education and this work proceeded very rapidly after the general suppression of the Society in 1773, nine years after it had been suppressed in

was afloat some thirty years later concerning William Allen's school at Lindfield, Sussex.

¹ Wm Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

France. Of the eighty-two Gymnasien in German and Bohemian Austria, thirty-eight were conducted by Jesuits and the remainder by various other congregations of "religious." At the suppression, effect was given to the principle, enunciated in the *Essay on National Education*, that the State, not the Church or any ecclesiastical corporation, should become responsible for public instruction. Jesuit funds and buildings passed to the State, which devoted them to establishing a system of *elementary* education. A considerable number of classical schools and seminaries belonging to the congregations was abolished, and elementary schools, higher elementary schools and normal schools were created in 1774 by aid of the confiscated property. In the following year, a State school system was completed by the introduction of a new course of studies into secondary schools, comprising the mother-tongue, history, geography, arithmetic, geometry, physics, and natural history. Reforms of the educational system were also projected in Bavaria and in the Bishoprics of the Rhine and Main.

But the new order was shortlived. Paulsen points out that the changes were made suddenly, as the outcome of bureaucratic interference and the desire of the sovereign (Joseph II more especially) to act the part of special providence, while public opinion was languid. Under Joseph II the Austrian reforms were based on a bigoted utilitarianism which deprived them of much sympathy which they would otherwise have secured. The upheaval in France after 1789 made new ideas, and especially French ideas, suspect; by the close of the century educational reaction was at flood-tide throughout Catholic Germany¹.

Locke's philosophy, in the form which it assumed during the "Age of Reason," was more successful in Protestant Germany, particularly in Prussia. Frederick the Great (1712-1786) was in most respects a true son of the "Enlightenment"; but he never acquired that belief in education and in the need for its wide diffusion which was held by many German princes of his time. Frederick's "General Regulation for Country Schools" (*General Land-Schul Reglement vom 12 August, 1763*) had declared that all children between the ages of five (or earlier) and thirteen, or fourteen, should attend school, and it had made arrangements for meeting the cost where the poor were concerned. But in 1779 he

¹ See F. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, vol. II. 4th book.

told Zedlitz that "in country parts, it is enough, if they learn a little reading and writing, but, if they learn too much, they will be running to the towns and want to become clerks and so forth."

In 1771, Zedlitz, already Minister of Justice, assumed in addition the portfolio of Minister for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs, and forthwith inaugurated the policy of founding a national system of education, independent of the Prussian State Church, the policy, that is, of La Chalotais. In this he was only partially successful, the hold of the clergy over primary instruction proving too strong to be removed. On the other hand, it was during Zedlitz's term of office (1771-89) that the modern Gymnasium and German University had their beginning. Always keen to discover men of ideas, the Minister employed as his agent of reform Friedrich Gedike, head of a leading Berlin school. On his suggestion, a new curriculum for secondary schools was introduced in 1781, which, to the usual staple studies of Latin, Greek and religion, added instruction in the vernacular, French, history, geography, mathematics and drawing. By the creation in 1787 of the Higher School Board (*Oberschulkollegium*) secondary and university education in Prussia passed from ecclesiastical supervision to that of a State department; in the following year, Gedike submitted to this Board a project for establishing a "leaving" examination certificate, which was carried out in 1789. By gradually extending the university privileges open to those who, on leaving school, had passed this *Abiturientenexamen* and, finally, by insisting upon the examination as a necessary preliminary to Government employment and (1834) to matriculation, the efficiency of the schools was very greatly increased, the universities were set free from giving elementary teaching and their position as homes of learning became assured.

An *Essay on a Schoolbook for Country Children or for Use in Village Schools* (1772), by Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow, attracted the notice of Zedlitz, who at once promptly demanded the author's help in reforming rural schools. The *Essay* called for the appointment of trained and better paid teachers and the gratuitous provision of elementary instruction. Encouraged by the Minister, Rochow established a school upon his estate at Reckahn, which became a model for Northern Germany; the subjects taught were religion, "the three R's," the mother-tongue and "useful know-

ledge." Its method was based upon sense-perception, and one of its chief aims was to make merely mechanical teaching impossible. The zeal of Rochow was tempered by Frederick and the country clergy; but Prussian primary education secured its share in the national reform under the combined influences of the disaster at Jena (1806) and the inspiration derived from the work of Pestalozzi in Switzerland.

Throughout the revolutionary period, from its inception in 1789 to the end of the Directory, the French people were eminently distinguished by their interest in public education. Under the French monarchy, considerable provision existed for all grades of instruction, from the primary school to the university, while the higher professional studies and general culture were fostered in special schools and learned, or aesthetic, societies. Yet it could not be said that France possessed an educational system. For the most part, very few of these institutions were subject to the control of the State; not all of the secondary schools (*collèges*) were governed by the municipal authorities, and the great bulk of primary teaching was conducted by congregations of "religious" amongst whom St Jean Baptiste de la Salle's Institute, the Brethren of the Christian Schools (f. 1684), was pre-eminent by reason of the number, wide distribution and success of its schools. Moderate reformers desired to replace these various and more or less private agencies by national institutions; public opinion was even more anxious to maintain the association of religion with education.

Preparatory to the assembling of the States General, the Clergy, Nobility and Third Estate were invited to draw up registers of complaints and grievances (*cahiers de plaintes et de doléances*) for presentation to the Crown. Those of the Third Estate being compiled on the basis of locality, with the parish as unit, gave scope to the expression of individual opinion; the great amount of attention which these *cahiers* devoted to suggestions of educational reform is remarkable. It is therefore not surprising that this subject was regarded as of the most urgent character by the people's representatives. Throughout the stormiest times of the National Assembly and of the Convention, the time of "the Terror" not excepted, public instruction was constantly discussed and made the subject of legislation, the Convention being especially conspicuous in this respect. While the earliest projects mooted were

addressed to the education of the individual as such, the disposition to merge individual interests in that of the community became more and more marked as time went on. The later schemes took as an appropriate model the educational system of the Spartan military oligarchs, in which the communistic school-barracks replaced the family and its ally, the school.

The educational legislation of the Revolution was on the whole nugatory, the Government's restricted finances and the preference of the people for the definitely religious school combining to prevent the general success of most of the projected institutions. The Convention was most successful in infusing new and fuller life into the machinery of scientific professional education, in giving a national *status* to the ancient academies of learned men and in augmenting the resources of such scientific bodies as the Bureau des Longitudes, the École Polytechnique and the Collège de France. But it gave great scope for the activities of the mere *doctrinaire*; the consequence was that the existing primary and secondary schools were suppressed and the substitutes for them were insufficient in number and unpopular in character. For the most part, French parents disliked the secular primary school, which replaced religious instruction by the teaching of civics and "Republican morals." The Central Schools, which were planned to supersede the old *collèges*, lacked co-ordination with the humbler primary schools and were not popular; but their predilection for modern studies disseminated new ideas respecting curriculum.

In the field of concrete achievement, the innovators failed badly; but in that of abstract principle, their discussions gave currency to certain doctrines which from that date onwards formed integral parts of French liberalism. The chief of these were the laicisation of the school and the institution of gratuitous public instruction, universally obligatory without respect of sex, principles found in the writings of La Chalotais, Talleyrand and Condorcet¹, and repeated by a multitude of lesser men. The extravagances of the latter are illustrated in the *Plan d'éducation nationale* of Michel le Peletier Saint-Fargeau.

¹ Talleyrand, "Rapport sur l'instruction publique," 1791; Condorcet, "Rapport et projet de décret sur l'organisation générale de l'instruction publique," 1792; both in C. Hippeau's *L'Instruction publique en France pendant la Révolution*. See, also, E. Allain, *L'œuvre scolaire de la Révolution*.

I ask you to decree that all children, without distinction and without exception, shall be reared in common, at the expense of the Republic, from the age of five to that of twelve in the case of boys, to that of eleven in the case of girls, and that, under the sacred law of equality, all shall receive the same clothing, the same nourishment, the same teaching, the same care. . . . I ask that whosoever shall refuse this common education for his children shall be deprived of the exercise of civic rights so long as he fails to fulfil this civic duty, and that his contribution to the Children's Tax shall be doubled. . . . In public education, the entire existence of the child belongs to us; if I may so put it, the material never leaves the mould, no exterior object (*sic*) deforms the modification which you give to it. Prescribe and accomplishment is certain, imagine a good method and it is followed forthwith; devise a useful idea and it passes into practice completely and without effort¹.

The obvious danger incurred by a political or religious minority in a State, where such a scheme of national education was in force, could not fail to impress English sympathizers with the French Revolution. They were for the most part dissenters from the established political and religious order and possessed of very limited political power; their civic existence would be impossible where the State, in its own supposed interest, deliberately employed national education to suppress dissent from the opinions favoured by the executive authority. Whereas State-controlled education, universal, obligatory and gratuitous, became after 1789 one of the leading conceptions of continental liberalism, English thinkers of a similar school denounced State education and jealously insisted on the right of individual freedom in education, no less than in religion. The consequence was that no serious steps were taken in this country to set up a State system of education before the year 1870, and the process then begun took a full generation to complete.

To the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century belong the earlier experiments of Pestalozzi. From 1774 to 1780 he educated on his farm, Neuhof, near Brugg in Aargau, Switzerland, some seventy to eighty children of the very poor, his aim being so to utilize the daily labour and intercourse of the farm and the house as to foster independence and self-respect in the learners; reading and writing, though not neglected, were subordinated to the moral purpose. As he himself said, "I lived the year round in the midst

¹ Hippeau, *op. cit.*, pp. 349 ff.

of more than fifty beggar-children, shared my bread with them in poverty, and lived myself as a beggar to teach beggars to live like men." His experiments in education and in agriculture brought him to bankruptcy and to a long period of distress. From December, 1798, to June, 1799, he was employed under the Directory of the Helvetic Republic to conduct a school for orphans at Stanz, by the Lake of Lucerne. Here he endeavoured to frame a moral training based, not on the more formal relationships of the school, but upon family life. Political affairs and his own ill-health cut the experiment short; but it determined him to adopt the career of schoolmaster. At Burgdorf and at Yverdun his ideas rapidly developed; within a few years, Europe in general recognized him as an authority on popular education, governments consulted him and sent students to be taught under his inspiration. The inscription above his grave in Birr outlines his career.

Here rests Henry Pestalozzi, born at Zurich, January 12th, 1746, died at Brugg, February 17th, 1827. Deliverer of the Poor at Neuhof, Preacher to the People in "Leonard and Gertrude"; at Stanz, the Father of the Orphans; at Burgdorf and at München-Buchsee, Founder of the modern "Folk-school"; at Yverdun, Educator of Mankind. A Man, a Christian, a Citizen. All for others, nothing for himself. A blessing on his name!

Characteristic of the period, but in a different way, was the action of Dr George Birkbeck, professor of physics in the Andersonian Institution, Glasgow, who in the year 1800 started courses of free Saturday evening lectures to artisans, with the intention of giving his hearers an intelligent knowledge of the tools and machinery employed in their daily business. From these courses arose the Mechanics' Institutes and other forms of adult popular education and the dissemination of useful knowledge.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

By the close of the eighteenth century, the European nations had become familiar with the conception of national education, universal, compulsory, gratuitous and State-directed. The growth of modern science and its successful application to industry, the increase and extension of commercial activity and, generally, the great change in the material circumstances of society, all made new claims upon the school and the university. These demands increased the volume of dissatisfaction that had been steadily accumulating since modern philosophy and humane letters had become self-conscious. The critics charged the curriculum with narrowness in the spheres of secondary and higher instruction and with poverty in the elementary. Its bookishness was denounced as a parrot-like substitute for actuality by such reformers as Rousseau and Pestalozzi, both of whom strenuously advocated instruction "by things and not by words," as the phrase ran. Yet the political principle and the criticisms of method were slow in bringing conviction to English minds; from one point of view, the history of English education between 1800 and 1870 is the record of a gradual and merely partial acceptance of State control in this particular region.

The problem was to make instruction universal without making it State-directed, to ensure religious and political liberty amongst an educated people; the earliest attempted solution was by way of the compromise known as "the voluntary system," a compromise which was the more readily accepted since it was based upon those humanitarian, or philanthropic, motives which were characteristic of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In absolute contrast with the brutality and misery which too frequently accompanied industrial progress, the philanthropic impulse was manifest in the revulsion against slavery, against the

unhappy state of prisoners, against the severity of the criminal law, successful agitations in which the Society of Friends and the Evangelical party in the Church of England were distinguished. During a period marked by stationary wages and by prices rising almost to famine-level, many expedients, some not wise, were invented to mitigate the wretched state of the poor. The feeling and the belief which a hundred years earlier had created charity schools now moved the philanthropists to provide elementary instruction on the great scale. Whereas the continental liberal regarded education as a legitimate public service, like that of military defence or the administration of justice, a service whose cost and advantages were shared by all citizens, the majority of responsible Englishmen down to 1870 thought of public education as a gift conferred by the well-to-do and by the country upon the labouring poor.

The conception of public education as a charity and an act of grace for the benefit of a particular social class is illustrated by Peel's Act of 1802, which initiated legislation for factories and for compulsory schooling. Its title is instructive: "An Act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in cotton and other mills and cotton and other factories." The employer was, by this Act, required to provide, during the first four of the seven years of apprenticeship, competent instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and to secure the presence of his apprentice at religious teaching for one hour every Sunday and attendance at a place of worship on that day. The "secular" instruction must be included in the twelve hours of daily occupation beginning not earlier than 6 a.m. and terminating not later than 9 p.m. Those apprentices who were of the Church of England were to be examined by the local clergyman once a year, and in due course they were to be prepared for confirmation¹. The intended beneficiaries of this Act were chiefly the very young pauper children who were sometimes brought from distant workhouses to labour under unhealthy conditions in the mills. But the Act was unpopular, and evasion was possible by neglecting to apprentice the children or by employing boys and girls resident in the neighbourhood: the practical effect of Peel's Act was not great.

Samuel Whitbread's Poor Law Reform Bill of 1807 included a

¹ See de Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education*, pp. 210 ff.

scheme for establishing, where necessary, parish schools directed by the clergy and supported by a parochial rate on land and houses. In introducing this abortive measure, Whitbread referred to

a plan for the instruction of youth, which is now brought to a state of great perfection, happily combining rules by which the object of learning must be infallibly attained with expedition and cheapness¹.

This is not so much the exaggerated language of an enthusiast as an expression of belief, then widely held, in the virtues of the Monitorial System, "the new mode of conducting a school through the medium of the Scholars themselves," as Bell explained. This must not be confused with the occasional use of monitors, or prefects, for special purposes under the supervision of masters. In this case, the pupils themselves *conducted the school*. The master instructed the monitors, who then drilled that instruction into their fellow-pupils; the system is well described by the term familiar to its continental imitators, "the Mutual System." It was first introduced to the British public by Andrew Bell (1753-1832) in a pamphlet published in 1797, *An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum of Madras, suggesting a System by which a School or Family may teach itself under the superintendence of the Master or Parent*. Bell had been the first superintendent of the Madras orphanage for Eurasian boys, but had now retired and was resident in England. Like many another much-praised schoolroom device, the "Madras System" was the child of necessity; failing to secure sufficient docility in his staff of teachers, Bell fell back upon the pupils themselves to carry out his extremely mechanical notion of teaching. Owing to the lack of competent schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in sufficient numbers, the system was eagerly adopted by the friends of popular education, who hailed it as a great "invention," a "discovery" in Whitbread's words "holding out the fairest prospect of eminent utility to mankind."

The master (who, when the system had obtained a vogue, was himself often an ex-monitor) confined his operations to instructing the monitors and exercising supervision over the whole; his mind only made indirect contact with the minds of the children. The system necessarily relied upon finding continuous employment for the pupils in a formal fashion and upon exacting from them

¹ De Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

strict conformity to pattern. Yet its machine-like operation does not appear to have troubled any one at first, its "discoverers" least of all. Lancaster publicly advertised himself as "having invented under the blessing of Divine Providence a new and *mechanical* system for the use of schools¹." Bell asserted that his monitors succeed the better in teaching others, that they themselves know no more than what is level to the capacities of their pupils and therefore lose no time in teaching what is beyond the comprehension of their scholars.

This humble notion of the teacher's office was long-established in Bell's mind. His biographer, Southey, says that Bell, while studying at St Andrews, eked out a scanty income by private teaching.

He has often said that he never refused to teach anything; for he could always by nightly study prepare himself for giving the next day's lesson, and thus what he had to teach he acquired as he went along.

On its first appearance, *An Experiment* did not attract much attention; but the "Madras System" was adopted almost at once in St Botolph's Charity School, Aldgate, and at Kendal. Its author became rector of Swanage in 1801; he made no attempt to push his "invention" beyond introducing it into the two Sunday Schools of the parish, nor did he show any desire to become conspicuous in the public eye. But his book certainly suggested ideas to one attentive reader, at least. Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) opened a school in his father's house in Southwark for the instruction of mechanics' children in reading, writing and arithmetic at a weekly fee of fourpence; this was in the year 1798 or 1796—the date is uncertain. The number of pupils fluctuated with the season, reaching 120 in summer and sinking to fifty or sixty in winter; and the fee-income was even more unsteady. But Lancaster, in spite of his own poverty, was more intent on educating the poor than on securing a livelihood; he received help from members of the Society of Friends, of which body he had recently become an adherent. In 1801, he was enabled to offer free instruction to children whose parents were unable to pay; further, "in a trying season of recent scarcity, many [of the pupils] were provided with dinner gratis, chiefly at the expense of a noble and generous-minded body of friends²." Lancaster first read Bell's *Experiment* in the year 1800 and was impressed by the possibilities of the

¹ *The Star*, February 26th, 1807.

² *Improvements, etc.*, p. 46.

mutual system, which he at once put into operation in his school. In 1804, Lancaster visited Bell at Swanage; but, by 1803, his school in the Borough Road, Southwark, then containing 300 pupils, was fully organized on Bell's Madras plan, with elaborations of Lancaster's own devising, chiefly intended to arouse excessive emulation amongst the children. Lancaster was at that time well aware of his debt to his predecessor and frankly acknowledged it¹. But after the two men were forced by circumstances into rivalry, Lancaster not only ignored the obligation but claimed to be the inventor of the Monitorial System; and a great dust was raised on the subject by their respective partisans.

The cause of popular education was advanced a long stage by the publication in 1803 of Lancaster's *Improvements in education as it respects the industrious classes*, a brief pamphlet which aroused an acrimonious but very fruitful controversy. The author confines himself to three topics, an account of the schools attended by the children of London mechanics and others of their degree, a description of the monitorial system, of which his own school of 300 boys and girls is an illustration, and a suggested scheme for popular education on a national basis. The last topic was the controversial one; it is Lancaster's best claim to be regarded as an original thinker.

"Initiatory schools," in which reading and needlework were taught to "several thousand children," *abounded* (the word is Lancaster's) "in every poor neighbourhood about London." The pupils, few of whom were above seven years of age, seldom numbered more than thirty in one school; the numbers fluctuated greatly and the fee-income of the mistress was in consequence uncertain. More pretentious, but equally inefficient, were the schools conducted by masters "often the refuse of superior schools and too often of society at large."

At a moderate calculation, among a million of persons inhabiting the metropolis, there are at least 25,000 children who attend these schools and cost their parents as many pounds sterling *per annum*.

Lancaster enumerates, as grave defects common to both kinds of school, uncertainty as to the teacher's morals and knowledge, lack of organization, diversity of method, poverty of apparatus and unsuitable and insanitary rooms.

¹ *Improvements*, pp. 64-5.

In his own school

the *whole* system of tuition is almost entirely conducted by boys. . . . The school is divided into classes, to each of which a lad is appointed as monitor; he is responsible for the morals, improvement, good order and cleanliness of the whole class. It is his duty to make a daily, weekly and monthly report of progress, specifying the number of lessons performed, boys present, absent etc. etc. As we naturally expect the boys, who teach others to read, to leave school when their education is complete, and do not wish that they should neglect their own improvement in other studies, they are instructed to train other lads as assistants, who in future may supply their place, and in the meantime leave them to improve in other branches of learning. The books made use of in this school as reading lessons are the Bible, Testament, Turner's Introduction to the Arts and Sciences, Trimmer's Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature and Reading the Scriptures, Martinet's 'Catechism of Nature' and Watts's 'Hymns for Children.'

The school was governed by the stimulus of keen emulation and the award of decorations, or of degrading punishments, as the cases demanded. A silver medal, suspended from the neck by a plated chain, distinguished the most proficient in teaching or in study; children whose behaviour and progress were very good were made members of an "Order of Merit." Culprits wore labels, or crowns of tin or paper. A child who read aloud in "a singing tone" was hung about with matches, ballads, dying speeches and sent round the school, heralded by the cry "Matches!" Hardened offenders were yoked at the neck, four or six together, and made to walk backwards through the school. Others were shackled by arm or leg; and a boy might be put into a sack and hoisted in a basket to the ceiling, a punishment which, as we may readily believe, was seldom needed. Mrs Trimmer rightly denounces all these expedients for governing children¹.

Lancaster is convinced that popular education "ought to become a national concern" and that the great obstacle which stands in the way is a

sect-making spirit. . . . and that in every party. . . . Above all things, education ought not to be made subservient to the propagation of the peculiar tenets of any sect beyond its own number.

Lancaster supposed that the obstacle would be removed, if all who

¹ *A Comparative View, etc.*

desired to see a national scheme of public education consented to base it upon "general Christian principles."

The grand basis of Christianity is broad enough for the whole of mankind to stand on and join hands as children of one family. This basis is, 'Glory to God, and the increase of peace and good will amongst men.'

An education founded upon "general Christian principles" might be made universal and, in that sense, national. But there must be no compulsion by the State.

I am sometimes sorry to hear sensible, intelligent men talk of reform [in the schools attended by the poor] by a compulsive law. Coercion of any kind, which grates upon our very hearing it, is the most disgusting, uncouth word in the British vocabulary.

But a plan sanctioned by principles which are generally accepted manifestly deserves the adhesion of the community; and its expense requires public assistance.

The compromise between State compulsion and individual freedom which Lancaster suggested did, in effect, underlie English administration of popular instruction down to 1870. Lancaster proposed the creation of a society which should become the fostering patron of the people's schools, "initiatory," "charity," "day," "female" and all varieties of the kind. The first care of the society should be the supply of teachers.

This proposal goes not to establish a new order of schools, which would be attended with great expence, but to reform those we already have by enabling and encouraging masters to do their duty. Though if some schools were established under the society's immediate care, I conceive it would not be foreign to the plan of facilitating the means of education to the poor.

Successful teachers were to receive such marks of the society's approbation as the bestowal of gold and silver medals and mention in newspapers, to the increase of their credit, of the number of their pupils and of their fees. The provision of suitable masters and mistresses for the society's own schools should be one of its first objects, and for the same purpose it might found, for teachers in general, a friendly society with sick, burial, temporary relief and superannuation benefits. A teachers' library should be formed containing books on education, the purchase of which was beyond

the means of most teachers. Regular and punctual attendance of children at school should be encouraged by the society; where such attendance extended over "a great length of time," it should qualify for a chance in a lottery of apprenticeship fees, the average value of which is set at about five pounds a head. It should be an object of the society to supply at cost price books, slates and similar material to all associated teachers; and finally the society should serve as a clearing house for ideas and "all information on the subject of tuition." Like the public in general, Lancaster was so ignorant of the magnitude of his contemplated task, even if it were confined to London and its vicinity, that he supposed all the society's "benevolent objects would be accomplished in some hundreds of schools amongst many thousands of children at an expence that probably would not exceed £1500 *per annum*."

Mrs Trimmer was obsessed by the belief that a deliberate conspiracy, originating in France with Voltaire, existed for the overthrow of Christianity; and the type of religious instruction advocated by Basedow and the Philanthropinists appeared to her to prove that the operations of the conspirators were being extended to English schools. The resemblance between Basedow's undenominationalism and Lancaster's "general Christian principles" struck her at once; and, though she found much to admire in the Borough Road School, she forthwith became the uncompromising opponent of the religious principle on which it was conducted. She attacked it in her periodical, *The Guardian of Education* (1803) and at greater length in a pamphlet, published in 1805, *A Comparative View of the New Plan of Education promulgated by Mr Joseph Lancaster . . . and of the system of Christian education founded by our pious forefathers, etc.*

Apart from its religious teaching, the "New Plan" received Mrs Trimmer's warm approval. She thought it somewhat ambitious, its proposed course of instruction too advanced and not sufficiently restricted to *useful* matters; the number of scholars in Lancaster's school (which it was now proposed to employ as a training ground for teachers) was too great to permit the master's attention to individuals. But these were not essentials.

A school consisting of seven or eight hundred boys, chiefly collected from the purlieus of St George's Fields, trained in habits of diligence and order and taught with surprising expedition, and at a moderate

expense, the useful arts of reading, writing and accounts under the conduct of one master is an interesting spectacle, which affords a striking contrast to the schools wherein the children of the common people generally receive their education; and it is impossible to view such an Institution without earnestly wishing to see the real benefits of it extended to all the children of the lower classes in this nation. But much as the mechanical part of Mr Lancaster's plan must be approved by all who are advocates for the instruction of the rising generation of the labouring people, there is another part of his plan which, to my apprehension, requires very deliberate consideration before it is adopted by members of the Established Church, namely that which relates to religion and morals. . . . It is only as a *Theologian* and a *Speculative Moralist* that his competency is to be called in question. Would he but lay aside his enmity to creeds and names etc. and allow the Church and the different sects to stand upon their own ground in the affair of Religion, he would indeed be the friend he wishes to be to the nation; for everything then would in all probability go on quietly, and those animosities be prevented, which it is to be feared will unavoidably be excited, if an attempt is made to establish his generalizing plan of religious instruction throughout the kingdom.

To Lancaster's proposal for a scheme of national education, Mrs Trimmer replies that such a scheme already exists. The Acts of Uniformity have given a national standing to the Book of Common Prayer, and that book ensures a general plan of religious education by requiring that all baptized children shall be taught the Catechism and receive instruction from the parish clergy. Further, the bishops by their licence certify to the fitness of teachers, while grammar schools and charity schools give an education based upon religion.

Denominationalism and its opposite confront each other in the foregoing citation from *A Comparative View*; from that time onwards these conflicting principles were the greatest obstacle to the State administration of English education. The "religious difficulty," that is, the compatibility of a common religious instruction with freedom of the individual conscience, was partially solved by Prussia in 1803 by the passage into law of a conscience clause, which allowed the children of dissidents to be absent from religious instruction according to the tenets of the State church. Although no such right was recognized in English law till 1870, it was admitted from the outset in some of the schools directed by the National Society. The Parliamentary Education Committee reported in 1816 that

in many of the schools where the national system¹ is adopted an increasing degree of liberality prevails, and that the Church Catechism is only taught, and attendance at the Established place of worship only required, of those whose parents belong to the Establishment; due assurance being obtained that the children of sectaries shall learn the principles, and attend the ordinances of religion, according to the doctrines and forms to which their families are attached.

Relying, no doubt, upon her own kindly relations with her dissenting neighbours, Mrs Trimmer probably found no inherent objection in her statement,

Neither would I wish to have poor children, whatever might be the religious professions of their parents, excluded from our Church Schools; they should be received into them with proper recommendations, on one condition, namely, that they must be taught with the rest. This, as I have been informed, is done in some schools unfavourable to the establishment; and it is proposed to be done in Mr Lancaster's on a very extensive scale.

Mrs Trimmer entered into a correspondence with Andrew Bell, urging him to establish his claim to be regarded as the inventor of the Monitorial System and to introduce that system into such Church schools as were willing to adopt it—"were I in your place, I should follow Mr Lancaster up a little, and bring my own plan still forwarder to public observation as the original one²." Bell, at first, did not show much enthusiasm for a project which would drag him from his retirement; but by playing upon his self-esteem, Mrs Trimmer at length prevailed. To the end, Bell was less an advocate, or opponent, of a particular kind of religious instruction, than an inventor absolutely convinced of the value of his own project. But the claim of the two men to a position which, either way, was of no public interest whatever, became, through Mrs Trimmer's intervention, the occasion of a dispute between Church and Dissent, that attained great prominence in the press and in political and ecclesiastical society.

Bell took steps in 1806 to be relieved of his cure at Swanage, offered himself for educational employment by Government, and began a propaganda and the active organization of his "system,"

¹ i.e. the system of the National Society, founded 1811; see below.

² Southey's *Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell*, vol. II. p. 156.

first in Whitechapel and at Brentford, Mrs Trimmer's home. The "Madras System" gradually made its way into different parts of England. It was introduced into the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, a school of 1000 children, as early as 1807. Its success in this case led the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York, to request the appointment in "every battalion in his Majesty's service" of "a sergeant, with suitable allowance, to act as schoolmaster." His brother, the Duke of Kent, Lancaster's cordial patron, procured the training in the Borough Road of a number of young soldiers to serve as regimental schoolmasters. This innovation in military administration dates from 1811.

In the meantime, Lancaster and his friends had been even more active in furthering the rival "system." A school for 1000 children, known as the Royal Free School, was opened in Southwark in 1804, and in the following year Lancaster explained his aims and plans to George III in person, securing the king and members of the royal family as annual subscribers. The occasion gave Lancaster a publicity for the monitorial system as it was practised in Southwark of which he took full advantage. He traversed the country, setting forth the nature and public value of his plan with such fervour that a movement on behalf of popular instruction, to which Bell and his friends were also contributory, inevitably followed. But Lancaster exemplified the truth that most prophets whose passion is education are careless about money. His affairs fell into confusion, from which they were partially removed by the self-appointment in 1808 of a small committee, which took over his debt of about £5000, and proposed to manage the business side of the Royal Lancasterian Institution, leaving Lancaster to conduct the schools and carry on propaganda. In 1810, there was a great accession of prominent public men to this committee, more particularly of those associated with liberalism in politics or with philanthropic movements.

The dispute about undenominationalism reached a climax in 1811. Mrs Trimmer died in December, 1810, but her rôle was more than filled by the Cambridge Lady Margaret professor, Dr Herbert Marsh. A sermon ("The national religion the foundation of national education") preached by the professor in the following June on the occasion of the annual Charity School service at St Paul's repeated the argument of Mrs Trimmer's

Comparative View. The established religion is the national religion. The educational system of the Established Church is constituted by the Book of Common Prayer and confirmed by the Acts of Uniformity and the Canons of 1604. National religious education is secured by the requirements that baptized children shall learn the Catechism and hear sermons, that every schoolmaster shall subscribe the Church's formularies and hold the bishop's licence to teach, and shall cause his pupils to learn the Catechism and attend the parish church. But "Lancaster's system," which "meets with general encouragement," having secured "very extensive patronage from men of all ranks and professions," is alien in spirit and method from the national plan; yet within its self-imposed limits it is very efficient. "If the system is accompanied with such religious instruction as is calculated to create indifference and even dislike to the established church, the most powerful engine that ever was devised against it is now at work for its destruction." Lancaster was, in short, what Mrs Trimmer has styled him, "the Goliath of Schismatics," and the Church was in danger. The sermon was followed a little later by a correspondence in the *Morning Post* in which Lancaster played a leading part. Diocesan and other local societies had been formed to support Bell's schools; Marsh saw that the formation of a large and comprehensive Church association, on the lines of Lancaster's proposal and in opposition to the work of his Committee, was now opportune. Aided by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and many prominent Churchmen, he started a movement which issued in the foundation in October, 1811, of "The National Society for promoting the education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales." The National Society proposed to give effect to its policy by erecting "a large central school, or probably two or three, to include a great number of the London poor and from which masters might be supplied, when required, to every part of the kingdom"; this "was the chief object." "The parent society would of course afford any aid in its power to any subordinate institutions in the country." The idea, then, was Lancaster's, the animating principle, Mrs Trimmer's; to Marsh and his friends belonged the realization. Bell was made superintendent (unpaid) of the "National" schools of London and neighbourhood, and in 1813 he was

given a seat on the committee and the office of "general inspector of all schools united with the Society."

In December, 1811, Lancaster at Dublin assisted in founding the "Society for promoting the education of the Poor in Ireland" (the Kildare Place Society). His relations with his greatly enlarged Committee became increasingly difficult as his sense of self-importance and their consciousness of the great possibilities before them developed. Both Bell and Lancaster appear to have succumbed to the adulation and dangers of a similar character almost inseparable from the publicity in which they lived while carrying on propaganda. Lancaster's behaviour especially became intolerable to the large body of distinguished public men who served on his Committee and who looked beyond his personality to their chief object, the establishment on a wide basis of popular education. In April, 1814, he abandoned the Committee for good and thereupon ceased to have influence upon a movement which he had created. His Committee had previously styled itself "the Society for promoting the Royal British or Lancasterian System for the education of the Poor" and the "Institution for promoting the British System for the education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of society of every religious persuasion." In May, 1814, it adopted the designation by which it has ever since been known, "The British and Foreign School Society¹."

The foundation of this society and of its rival, the National Society, marks the establishment of the Voluntary System, the compromise by which England sought to reconcile public instruction and religious liberty. As time passed, the education of more and more English children was conducted in "National" or "British" schools, or in schools of a denominational kind supported in part by State grants, in part by particular religious bodies. Yet in their early years, notwithstanding devoted efforts, the two societies only touched the fringe of popular ignorance. In the absence of organized statistics, inferences from chance statements are our only guides; and these confirm that opinion. The National Society reports in 1813 that 230 schools and 40,484 children are connected with it; perhaps as many children may be credited to the Lancasterian schools at that date—the indications point to a smaller number. In the poorer districts of Whitechapel, sixty *per*

¹ H. B. Binns, *A Century of Education*, pp. 64-5.

cent. at least of the children above seven years of age "probably received no education" in 1812; the statement is made after deduction of the accommodation in Sunday Schools, dames' schools and a large National School. But such figures as we have are misleading, since discrimination is not always made between the number of school places provided and the number of their actual occupants. In 1814 Francis Place and others inspected three London Lancasterian schools, each of which was said to be intended for one thousand children. The accommodation in all three amounted to 1640, and the actual number of children present in school was, not three thousand, but less than one thousand. Again, one of Bell's correspondents writing from Windsor in 1811 says,

I have generally observed that in villages, where schools are open from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., that they are of little use, as none hardly attend but infants of 4 or 5 years old; while the ploughboy and others employed in field work go on in utter ignorance.

Similarly, the Whitechapel reporter of 1812 believes that most of those "attending dames' schools are from 5 to 7."

The monitorial system was not confined to the popular schools in the first years of its history. In 1810, it was employed in the Christ's Hospital school at Hertford, and in the following year it was adopted by Charterhouse, where it had a vogue for some six or seven years. Under James Pillans' rectorship (1810-20) the High School of Edinburgh was organized on the Mutual System; and about 1816 Bell reports that boarding schools, grammar schools and private families were employing it.

Nor was the system restricted to the British Isles. The regimental schools took it to India and to other parts of the Empire; the Emperor Alexander, always interested in popular education, informed himself of the work of Bell and Lancaster and, in consequence, sent (1816-7) a few Russians to the Borough Road and to the National Society's Central School in Baldwin's Gardens, Holborn, in order to learn the procedure. Both the Societies corresponded with the British colonies, where monitorial schools were started. The British and Foreign School Society justified its name by its propaganda on the Continent and in Spanish America. In 1814, Denmark applied to that Society for advice and five years later adopted a modified scheme of mutual instruction. Different

German states also experimented with it. In 1819, there were twelve hundred monitorial schools in France. The monitorial plan achieved its greatest success on the Continent in the primary schools of Fribourg, Switzerland, under the direction of a Franciscan monk, Jean Baptiste Girard ("le père Grégoire"), a most able and devoted friend of popular education, who was "préfet des écoles" there from 1804 to 1823.

But these foreign imitations and adaptations were for the most part sporadic and shortlived. The association of Lancaster's plan with "general Christianity" aroused in Latin countries an antagonism similar to, but far stronger than, Mrs Trimmer's. The success of Father Girard was widely recognized, but his educational labours at Fribourg were brought to an end by the ecclesiastical authorities on the ground that "mutual instruction" was defective in religion and morals. His case was typical of what happened in Spain, France and elsewhere. On the other hand, the purely mechanical nature of this instruction condemned it in quarters where "general Christianity" was either tolerated or well received. The inherent difficulty of religious instruction dissociated from creeds and formularies was curiously illustrated by the action of the British and Foreign School Society itself, when it decided that the Jewish claim for exemption from lessons on the New Testament could not be granted, although every care would "be taken to avoid wounding the feelings of parents or children." The decision naturally led to the secession of Jewish supporters and pupils¹.

In Madras Bell's school had taught beyond the elements of knowledge; as early as 1819, the "British" society began to extend the curriculum for pupils whose capacity warranted it. But for the vast majority, apart from religious teaching and exercises, mutual instruction was confined to "the three R's." Some National Schools added handwork, or a skilled trade, for economic reasons; in general, the pupils were poorer than the children attending British schools. The supposed economy of teaching power was the greatest claim possessed by the monitorial system to be adopted as the instrument of popular education; and popular instruction was generally regarded as confined within narrow limits.

Yet the ability to give even such humble "teaching" as that

¹ H. B. Binns, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

dispensed by the monitors could not be left entirely to the light of nature; some measure of training was necessary. Lancaster's ideas on this subject as expounded in his *Improvements in Education* were liberal. The novices were to make a study of theory as well as of practice: their library of educational literature was to include works on "the latent principles and passions that actuate the juvenile mind"—child-psychology, as the present-day phrase is. Bell scoffed at principles and trusted to schoolroom practice absolutely; it is part of the irony of things that out of his large fortune were founded the two first chairs of education ever instituted at British universities, those, namely, at Edinburgh and St Andrews. But Lancaster, like Bell, only taught his future teachers "the system"; they were merely enabled to "tell the tale as 'twas told to them." Devices and schemes took first place; principles were either subordinated, ignored or defied. A great school of a thousand children, wherein young men and women, or boys and girls, might be trained empirically was an integral part of Bell's plan, as it was of Lancaster's. The latter began such training in the Borough Road about 1803-5. The Barrington School, Bishop Auckland, and the Central School, Baldwin's Gardens, Holborn (the "model" Madras schools) trained teachers from 1810-12 onwards. Later times were greatly indebted to these very imperfect measures for securing a body of teachers sufficiently numerous to meet the great demand. Yet it must be said that their illiberal character did much to discredit the design of training teachers in any way for any purpose whatsoever, and to create a prejudice which still does harm to English education.

When the balance is struck, the advantages of the monitorial system slightly outweigh its defects; the times being what they were, more could not be expected. Before the system was fairly under way, Mrs Trimmer anticipated the verdict which must to-day be passed upon it.

"Mr Lancaster has given," she says, "convincing proofs that with good management, the children of the common people may all be instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic at a moderate expence and trained in habits of civility and order; and that the establishing *Free Schools throughout the nation is very practicable and desirable*¹."

The interest in education which was felt by Robert Owen

¹ *A Comparative View, etc.*, p. 76.

(1771-1858) made him a supporter both of Lancaster and of Bell; their religious differences did not concern him and he was ready to help both equally. His father-in-law, David Dale, proprietor of the New Lanark Mills, had always manifested solicitude for his workpeople and particularly for the pauper children, of whom he employed four or five hundred at New Lanark. When Owen became the active head of the business (1799), it was the practice to teach these children reading and, in the case of the oldest of them, writing also. But as the schooling came at the close of some fourteen hours' labour and the oldest of the pupils were but ten or twelve and the youngest four years of age, it is not surprising that Owen thought it did not do "any real good." He determined on a thorough re-organization of the arrangements already in operation for the material and spiritual advantage of the workpeople, and this occupied him for the next sixteen or seventeen years. He convinced himself during this period that society as a whole might be changed fundamentally and for its good, if means were taken to put into practice the principle that "character is formed *for*, and not *by* the individual." Education, in short, is the process of forming character by means of the circumstances of daily life. Surround the child with the necessary conditions, and the good life must follow. The organization by which Owen hoped to realize his conviction was complete at the end of 1815. At its base was what he believed to be a new institution—the infant school, which received children "at one year or as soon as they could walk." Children between the ages of six and twelve were to attend the day school; adults might take advantage of schemes of evening lectures. Co-operative buying and the encouragement of saving added to the comfort of the community.

This "New Institution for the Formation of Character" attracted visitors in large numbers from abroad as well as from different parts of Great Britain. "The great attraction to myself," says Owen, writing in extreme old age and nearly forty years after the event, "and the numerous strangers who now continually visited the establishment was the new infant school." It was also the one permanent feature of his educational scheme; but Owen was not the first to devise it. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Englishmen began to hear of the Swiss reformers Pestalozzi, Père Girard, Fellenberg; some visited Switzer-

land, amongst them Bell (1816) and Owen (1818). It is doubtful whether many of the numerous visitors to Yverdun brought away any clear notions of Pestalozzi's real aims. Owen thought him a simpleton who had made "one step in advance of ordinary schools." Was this the persistent application to all forms of school employment of the doctrine that learners must make the first-hand acquaintance of that which they are learning, to the refusal of such intermediaries as books or the teacher's verbal description, the doctrine which Pestalozzi called *Anschaung*, intuition? However that may be, it was this doctrine which animated and determined the instruction given in the New Lanark Infant School. Owen visited Father Girard at Fribourg; but in *The Life of Robert Owen, by Himself* (1858) he calls him Oberlin. The mistake is significant. Owen here confuses the "Patriot Monk" of Fribourg with the Alsatian, Jean Frédéric Oberlin (1740-1826), who was famous as the civilizer of a remote parish in the Vosges, of which he was pastor for nearly sixty years. In the earliest days of his pastorate, which began in 1767, Oberlin had included infant schools among the many instruments through which he transformed the material and spiritual life of the Ban de la Roche.

But whether indebted to others for the idea, or not, Owen's infant school at New Lanark opened a new chapter in English education. Owen's partners disapproved of his methods and in 1824 put an end to them by ordering the re-organization of the schools at New Lanark on the model of the British and Foreign School Society. But some five years earlier, Henry Brougham, James Mill and others opened an infant school in Westminster, at the head of which they placed James Buchanan, Owen's first infant school master. In 1824, the London Infant School Society was founded, whose aims and methods were made widely known by its superintendent, Samuel Wilderspin (died 1866). From 1824 onwards, schools for children under seven years of age have formed an integral part of English primary education, although formal schooling, in the rudiments, of children so young has lately fallen out of favour. Continental opinion as a whole is and has been against it. Froebelian instruction, play-schools and *crèches* have always been different in character from the English infant school; the first named has only obtained a lukewarm welcome in the country of its birth, and where the other two are found, their

purpose is economic rather than educational. Little ones, whose mothers are employed daily away from home, must be fostered and protected during the mother's absence. Thus, in Germany and in the Swiss Cantons schools for children under six are found only in big towns; attendance is optional, since these schools do not form part of the compulsory public system. France occupies an intermediate position. Largely influenced by English precedent, the early *salles d'asile* (1826, etc.) more nearly resembled infant schools than do the *écoles maternelles* (1881, etc.) which are more home-like and less school-like. These are constituent parts of the French primary system; their pupils range from two to five years old and attendance is optional.

After the death of Samuel Whitbread in 1815, Henry Brougham became the recognized leader of those whom their contemporaries stigmatized as "education-mad." The mania of these persons was the widest possible dissemination of knowledge, especially of *useful* knowledge, amongst all classes and the utilization for that purpose of ancient educational endowments, of parish rates, Treasury grants and private benevolence. They were of an entirely different opinion from so experienced a schoolmaster and student of education as Vicesimus Knox¹, who thus laid down the poor man's course of instruction. "He ought to be made sensible that there is an attainable good in this life superior to animal gratification, that there are pleasures more refined, exalted and durable than those of the senses and that a life of faith and obedience affords hope of a happy immortality. Of this, every poor man in the nation should be made sensible, and for this purpose the humble schools ['parochial,' 'charity,' 'national,' 'dames,' which abound] prepared for him are sufficient; for, I believe, they never neglect reading the scriptures, catechetical instruction and daily supplication²."

Brougham's first step was to secure the appointment, in 1816, of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the "education of the lower orders." This body, of which Brougham was chairman, sat for many years, issued several reports and, in its earliest days, extended its investigations to schools outside its terms of reference. Under Brougham's leadership it was prejudiced

¹ See p. 220 above.

² *Remarks on . . . a Bill now pending* (1820).

and opinionated; in consequence, its earlier reports as to matters of fact cannot always be accepted without reserve. But even so, its investigations showed how lamentable in truth were the deficiencies of English public education. First, there was a great lack of school provision in almost every part of the country. Roughly, about half-a-million children were being taught in various kinds of unendowed schools, 200,000 of them in 1520 monitorial schools, over 50,000 in dames' schools. Endowed schools of different grades educated nearly 170,000 children. Accepting the rule of the Breslau Tables that one-ninth of the population of a country falls into the classification, "between 7 and 13 years of age," England was educating, not that proportion, but one-sixteenth, Wales, one-twentieth. On the other hand, Scotland (of whose scholastic arrangements Brougham was a great advocate) educated one-tenth, Holland the same proportion, and Switzerland, one-eighth. In France, the fraction was said to be one-twenty-eighth. Of 12,000 English and Welsh parishes, 3500 had no sort of school, 3000 had endowed schools, while the remainder were served by unendowed schools¹. The Committee reported that in all parts of the country, in villages as well as in great centres of population, the poor were increasingly anxious to secure education for their children.

In the second place, through a misinterpretation of the phrase, occurring so frequently in early school statutes, *pauperes et indigentes*², Brougham charged the grammar schools with misusing funds originally provided for the indigent poor. The investigations of his Committee showed that abuses existed in connexion with school trusts; and, at their best, the ancient endowed schools were giving instruction which it was held would be of little or no use to the majority of English boys.

In a letter (20th August, 1818) written to Sir Samuel Romilly, Brougham announced his purpose of securing by Act of Parliament a full inquiry into the administration of charities.

An estate worth £700 a year only educates seven or eight boys; lands valued at eleven or twelve hundred a year only afford a wretched

¹ Brougham, House of Commons, June, 1820, bill "for the better education of the Poor." His figures and their warrant, the Committee's statistics, can only be taken as roughly approximate.

² See p. 62 above.

pittance to sixteen paupers; and property worth £150 a year is let for £2. 1s. 4d., chiefly to the trustees themselves.

Brougham got his Bill, but as an Act it was emasculated by being confined to charities, like charity schools, unambiguously intended for the very poor and destitute.

A second Bill for "the education of the Poor in England and Wales" (1820) sought to effect amendment by erecting in every parish at public expense a school under the control of the parish clergyman and taught by a member of the Church of England. The studies were to comprise reading, writing, arithmetic, the Scriptures, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue. "It was not necessary that the schoolmaster should teach any particular religion." Where possible, these new schools were to be connected with local grammar schools, and all grammar schools were to teach the three R's. The Scots parish school was the model followed by this rejected Bill, which aroused the opposition of Dissenters, clergy and friends of grammar schools; it was the occasion of Knox's *Remarks* quoted above. Brougham says that the Dissenters secured its rejection.

Brougham's zeal for popular instruction found a congenial outlet in the movement for adult education which led to the creation of Mechanics' Institutions. The germ of these is to be found in the lectures to working men which Dr George Birkbeck delivered at Glasgow, 1800-1804, as already mentioned. Birkbeck's pupils organized themselves into a society for continuing and extending the work under his successor, Ure; and the scheme was also followed in Edinburgh and elsewhere. The association of working men for mutual instruction and the provision of books was, from the outbreak of the French Revolution, a significant mark of industrial life in Birmingham, London and other populous places. In 1823 the Glasgow men founded the "Mechanics' Institution," of which they asked Birkbeck to become president, the purpose of the new society being "the instruction of artisans in the scientific principles of arts and manufactures," "the diffusion of useful knowledge amongst mechanics." In the same year the *Mechanics' Magazine* began publication weekly and in an early issue suggested the formation of an institution of this kind in London. The suggestion was taken up vigorously by Birkbeck, Brougham, Francis Place and others of the small group of Radicals, and by the close

of the year the London Mechanics' Institution (now the Birkbeck College) was established, with over a thousand members paying a quarterly subscription of five shillings. Similar societies soon became numerous, more especially in the northern and midland industrial areas; a little later, the movement found supporters in France, the United States and Holland.

For their immediate purpose, the obvious studies were scientific; mechanics, chemistry and mathematics were most favoured at first. The London Mechanics' Institution also taught heat, steam, astronomy, botany, hydraulics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, geography, the use of the blowpipe, arithmetic, French, shorthand, mnemonics and phrenology. The last three suggest appeals to the commercial clerk and to the general public interested in the latest craze. In this connexion, it is worth recalling words which Dr Arnold addressed to the Mechanics' Institute at Rugby in 1838; they were of more than passing cogency.

The very matters which concern us most nearly (*sc.* our duties as men and as citizens) are exactly those on which the rules of this and other similar institutions forbid us to enter. I do not dispute the expediency of these rules or, to speak more correctly, their necessity in the present state of party feeling, both religious and political; but so long as they are observed, it is idle to call Mechanics' Institutes places of adult education. Physical science alone can never make a man educated; even the formal sciences (grammar, logic, arithmetic, geometry), invaluable as they are with respect to the discipline of the reasoning powers, cannot instruct the judgment; it is only moral and religious knowledge which can accomplish this¹.

It was the settled plan of Birkbeck, Brougham and others of the influential persons who helped these institutions in the early days that some at least of that "humane" education, desired by Arnold, should be obtained through the informal intercourse of members and by participation in the government of the society. Two-thirds of the London Mechanics' Institution committee were mechanics. A similar constitution was advised for general adoption; but the advice was often disregarded.

Within two years from the opening of the institution in London, some fifty societies came into existence in the British Isles, the great majority, of course, being in populous England. In 1841 it

¹ Thos. Arnold, *Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 400-24.

was stated that there were 220 Mechanics' Institutions in existence with a membership of 30,000. But by this date the societies scarcely deserved their distinguishing title. As early as 1832, the London Society, situated as it was in the neighbourhood of the Inns of Court, included solicitors' clerks, law copyists, shopkeepers and their apprentices on its roll, while mechanics formed about 73 *per cent.* of the membership. The falling-off of workmen increased so rapidly that in 1835 we find Brougham at Liverpool referring to "the industrious portion of the middle classes, *to whose use Mechanics' Institutions are more especially devoted.*" It was hopeless to expect any other result, so long as English popular education was so neglected; the success of Birkbeck's original lecture-courses in Glasgow was founded on the sound elementary education which the Scottish workman had received in his parish school.

In 1827, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was founded, Brougham being its first president. The Society devoted itself to the production of cheap publications intended to achieve its main purpose, although Brougham also hoped to reprint historical, ethical and political works of a less strictly utilitarian kind. The Society's *Penny Magazine* secured from the outset a weekly circulation of 120,000, and its *Penny Cyclopaedia*, "Libraries" of entertaining and useful knowledge, and similar periodicals were silent but powerful influences in English life at the critical period which opened with the enactment of the First Reform Bill (1832). In Edinburgh, William and Robert Chambers notably served the movement by the publication of *Chambers' Information for the People* (1833), *Chambers' Educational Course* (1835) and a great number of books of instruction which had an extraordinary vogue.

The passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 created new motives for the establishment of popular education other than the philanthropic impulses which hitherto had actuated most of its friends. The dangers to the State which might arise from an ignorant population appeared much more real amidst more democratic political conditions; those who, with Adam Smith, regarded an uneducated man as a man maimed were only made more anxious to prevent the mutilation. In 1833, petitions for the establishment of a general system of schools began to reach

the House of Commons, in spite of the great increase in school attendance which had recently taken place. Whereas the number of pupils attending endowed schools remained virtually what it was in 1820, the number in schools not endowed had doubled, being in 1833 well over a million. Lord Brougham regarded this increase as a proof that the voluntary system, exemplified by the work of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, rendered resort to compulsion needless. John Arthur Roebuck, M.P. for Bath, introduced an abortive resolution in the House for the establishment of the "universal and national education of the whole people" under local committees and a Ministry of Education; school attendance was to be compulsory between the ages of six and twelve. This was in July, 1833; in the following month, the House of Commons took its first and very hesitating step towards a State scheme of education. It voted £20,000, subsequently made an annual grant, "in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of school-houses for the education of the poorer classes in Great Britain," thus giving countenance to the opinion that public education was a charitable act of grace, intended to ameliorate the condition of one class of the community. Guizot had secured, a few weeks earlier, the passage of a law decreeing the placing of a school in every French commune.

The Treasury grant of £20,000 could only be used to build school-houses in places, preferably populous, where there was pressing need and where local subscribers raised an amount at least equal to the grant received. Applications for a share of the grant were to be made through the National Society or the rival association; later, and until 1839, these two school societies undertook the distribution of the grant. The plan was not new. Between 1811 and 1831 the Kildare Place Society, which Lancaster had helped to found, had been the intermediary in Ireland for the payment of a government grant in support of undenominational schools. The plan was unsatisfactory in a country where religious division was even more pronounced than in England; and in 1831 it was superseded by the creation of the Board of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, a mixed body in respect of religious opinion.

CHAPTER XV

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION (1800-1860)

THE low level to which the fortunes of the great schools of England fell in the course of the eighteenth century is most strikingly illustrated by the case of Shrewsbury.

This school was once the Eton or the Westminster of Wales and of all Shropshire etc. Now [January, 1797] the present master [Atcherley] does nothing, and there are not above three or four boys belonging to this noble foundation, although there are many exhibitions belonging to the school¹.

Yet it was from Shrewsbury School under Atcherley's immediate successor that the movement began which established the Public Schools in a stronger position than they had ever before occupied in English life. An Act of Parliament of 1798 gave the school a newly constituted governing body, and in October of that year Samuel Butler (1774-1839) became head master. At that time, the number of pupils did not exceed twenty, the boys "on the foundation" being, apparently, two or three only. It was the smallest of his achievements during his thirty-eight years of office that Butler raised the number of pupils to three hundred. E. C. Hawtrey, the newly appointed head master of Eton and former master there of twenty years' standing, wrote as follows to Butler in 1835, when the latter's resignation was imminent:

The advance of learning among the young has decidedly at all English schools of any note generally taken its impulse from you; and where it has not, as at Westminster, the decadence has been doleful. Whatever Eton and Harrow may be, I can safely say that they would not have reached even any moderate excellence, if you had not been "the Agitator²."

¹ Dr James to Samuel Butler, *Life and Letters of Dr Samuel Butler*, vol. I. p. 20.

² S. Butler, *Life and Letters*, as above, vol. II. p. 129. The reader will note that "Eton and Harrow" here appear as the typical public schools, in place of "Eton and Westminster," the usual eighteenth-century formula employed by Dr James above.

Butler's success was partly due to the fact that, in the words of his successor and former pupil, B. H. Kennedy, he was "an excellent scholar and no ordinary teacher." But much must be attributed to his skill in the business of school management. A carefully supervised scheme of marking the boys' daily tasks, and the regular half-yearly occurrence of examinations on which promotions and place in form strictly depended, kept emulation in vigorous life throughout the school. Yet the boys were left free for a considerable amount of self-chosen private reading, and much of the government of the school community was committed to the older boys. In a memorandum written in 1821 Butler says,

A preposter is one of the first eight boys to whom the master delegates a certain share of authority, in whom he reposes confidence, and whose business it is to keep the boys in order, to prevent all kinds of mischief and impropriety, and to give up the name of offenders to Dr Butler, either when called upon by him, or without such requisition as often as they see cause¹.

The staple of the curriculum was, of course, Latin and Greek, but with more attention to the latter than was usual in other schools. English history, geography, algebra and Euclid were part of the ordinary routine of the fifth and sixth forms, while the customary public school "accomplishments," such as handwriting and French, were taught on half-holidays to most of the boys.

It was part of Butler's policy to keep in close touch with Oxford and Cambridge, and the large number of scholarships, including the most valuable, which Shrewsbury boys secured at both universities made the academic world cognisant of the activity of one school at least, during the years when university reform was gradually being effected. At the same time, Butler's influence was being extended by public school masters who, like Hawtrey of Eton and Longley and Drury of Harrow, sought his advice, and by those of his pupils who themselves became head masters. Repton, Uppingham, Durham, Stamford, Coventry, Bridgnorth, Chester, Derby, Wimborne and Shrewsbury itself received as head masters men who had been his pupils.

Butler's due meed of praise as a pioneer of public school reform has been withheld in favour of Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), head master of Rugby from 1828 till his death. Yet most of the reforms

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. I. p. 206.

popularly attributed to Arnold were carried out at Shrewsbury by Butler years before the younger man became a schoolmaster; and neither the employment of monitors in the government of the school nor the modernization of the curriculum, two things often specifically credited to Arnold, can in truth be regarded as innovations due to either of them. Butler was the greater practical schoolmaster. Arnold's distinction lay in his personality and in the intense moral earnestness of his character; by virtue of these, he was the greater educator and the greater man.

Before Arnold went to Rugby, the common opinion about the public schools was, that they were admirable places for the study of the two ancient languages and literatures, but poor schools of morals. Arnold's work at Rugby, assisted by the heightened ideals of the times, raised the moral standard of all the public schools, of the universities, and, through these, of English education generally. One not unimportant element in the change thus effected was the example which Arnold set to his professional brethren. "You touch," he wrote in 1837, "on what alone is education—the forming of the moral principles and habits of man." Religion he regarded as the indispensable foundation of moral training and he was convinced that in England religion, for that purpose, must be Christian. Practically and seriously interested as he was in all grades and forms of public education, and ready to co-operate with all sorts of men for its advancement, he withdrew from the Senate of the University of London because its courses of study and examination did not "satisfy the great principle that Christianity should be the base of all public education in this country¹." "It is not right to leave [boys and young men] in ignorance of the beginnings of physical science," he told a friend who was about to become a teacher. Yet this did not blind him to the defects of a purely utilitarian instruction, such as marked the Mechanics' Institutes and the customary policy of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; his opinion on this subject has been cited in the previous chapter.

The moral condition of his school was his perennial anxiety; he could never wholly trust to the triumph of good in a community whose members were almost entirely immature in mind and body.

¹ Letter to the Chancellor of the University, 7th November, 1838. See Stanley's *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*.

Writing under a pen-name to the *Quarterly Journal of Education*¹, he asserted that

a society formed exclusively of boys, that is, of elements each separately weak and imperfect, becomes more than an aggregate of their several effects; the amount of evil in the mass is more than the sum of evil in the individuals; it is aggravated in its character, while the amount of good, on the contrary, is less in the mass than in individuals, and its effects greatly weakened.

Hence the preponderating influence which he assigned to all forms of instruction whose purpose was to enlighten and sustain the moral nature. Next to religion, he placed history, particularly modern history; and the study of ancient literature he supplemented by instruction in French and German. "A mere scholar cannot possibly communicate to his pupils the main advantages of a classical education"; this requires a knowledge of modern history and literature.

Arnold described the Rugby School organization of 1834-5 in a passage reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 341 ff. He was at that time assisted by nine masters; there were 260 non-foundations and a number, varying from fifty to eighty, on the foundation. At a later date, he thought the school was "sadly too full" when it mustered 340 pupils in all. Boys were classified on a three-fold basis, that is, according to their respective merit in classics, mathematics and French; but the Sixth Form remained the same in *personnel* for all studies. While Latin and Greek formed the staple of the curriculum, time was found for arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, the first six books of Euclid, geography, English and European history, and an acquaintance with the writings of Molière, La Fontaine, Pascal, Guizot and Mignet.

The place given to historical works in Arnold's teaching expresses his own predilection; but he was not at all singular in his readiness to mitigate the exclusively "classical" character of the grammar school course. The changes in continental schools consequent on the general recognition of modern studies forced themselves on the attention of all who concerned themselves with education. English or foreign. The best evidence of the fact is the revision in 1832 of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, which had remained,

¹ January 22nd, 1835. "On the discipline of public schools."

unchanged, the authoritative manual of the Society's educational practice since its first issue in 1599.

This general disposition to break the monopoly of Latin and Greek was reinforced in England by the demands of a community which had passed through profound economic and social changes in consequence of the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. Quite apart from any ideal of reform, local conditions and demands had wrought great alteration in the instruction given by the schools of ancient foundation. As early as 1805, the Court of Chancery had ruled that to apply grammar school funds in payment for instruction other than that in "the learned languages" would be misappropriation, and that therefore modern languages and commercial studies lay outside the functions of such schools. The judgment was re-affirmed in 1826. Yet in 1818 it was estimated that the number of English grammar schools was 500, that in 120 of them more than ten thousand boys were "pursuing every variety of study now in use in England," that in fifty-six of these 120 schools some four thousand boys received instruction "in the minor branches of English learning alone," and that in eighty of the full number of 500 schools, the option rested with the parent whether the boy should, or should not, take the classical course¹. The author who is responsible for these figures regarded St Olave's, Southwark, as the model on which reform should be based. Of the 260 boys under instruction there, sixty under three Latin masters followed the classical curriculum. The remaining two hundred furnished "a perpetual supply of promising students for the upper school," whilst the others "more fitted for trades" acquired only the "information necessary for their expected modes of life."

But it is to the great mass of successful private schools rather than to the grammar schools, or to individual schoolmasters, that the modernization of the school course must be attributed. The movement began during the eighteenth century and its effect was being felt before Arnold went to Rugby. Francis Jeffrey, writing in the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1825, ventured to assert that it is absurd

¹ See "A Letter to Henry Brougham . . . on the best method of restoring decayed grammar schools," by M.A., Queen's College, Oxford. The writer puts the boarding and other fees at the great schools at "more than £200 *per annum*," which is paid for more than 700 of the 861 boys attending the seven schools in question.

to suppose that in any modern scheme of education the attention of the pupil is *exclusively* directed to the study of those languages [Latin and Greek] or that there is not in reality time enough for the simultaneous acquisition of any other accomplishment. There is no seminary, we believe, in these kingdoms, public or private, where the classical tongues now possess such a monopoly; and it is matter of notoriety that they are almost always conjoined with the study of arithmetic, French, mathematics and drawing, and generally with some history, natural philosophy and metaphysics or theology, besides a sufficient institution in the accomplishments dancing, horsemanship, fencing and other gymnastics.

This is much too sweeping and dogmatic; yet it has an element of truth. Two contemporary head masters of public schools may be cited to show the nature of the work then being done in many schools, good, bad and indifferent, under private management. Writing in 1820-2, Vicesimus Knox says that,

at present, the sciences seem to have attracted the attention of the great and fashionable; a knowledge of chemistry seems to have become a female accomplishment, and the rising generation of studious youth devote much attention to it, as they do to geology, mineralogy and, perhaps, craniology¹.

He is distrustful of those "schools for the shop, the warehouse, the counting house and the manufactory" which are commonly called "academies."

However superficial the attainments in classics at the scientific, mathematical and arithmetical academies, all defects are supplied, in the opinion of the money-making world, by the superior excellence of dancing, French, drawing, fencing and music masters, all of them far-fetched and richly remunerated. These instructors fill the academy with pupils and the grammar schools are comparatively deserted. Though it should be remembered that in most grammar schools all such masters and masters also in writing and ciphering, hired by the master and altogether under his control, are actually employed at this moment in the *horae subsecivae* (leisure hours) in the intervals of classical study².

It is tempting to see in this passage a reference to the many *émigrés* who fled to this country during the French Revolution and became teachers in English schools or tutors in English families, thus leavening English opinion in respect of those modern languages and accomplishments which they invariably taught.

¹ *The Pamphleteer*, vol. xix. p. 436.

² *Ibid.*, p. 435.

Arnold, writing to the *Sheffield Courant* in April-May, 1832, gives the following account of private schools. Between the grammar schools and the parochial schools

there is a great multitude of what are called English or commercial schools, at which a large proportion of the sons of farmers and tradesmen receive their education. In some instances these are foundation schools, and the master is appointed by, and answerable to, the trustees of the charity; but more commonly they are private undertakings, entered upon by individuals as a means of providing for themselves and their families. There is now no restriction upon the exercise of the business of a schoolmaster and no inquiry made as to his qualifications; the old provision which rendered it unlawful for any man to teach without obtaining a license from the bishop of the diocese has naturally and necessarily fallen into disuse. . . . A man who was not in orders might open a school for the sons of rich parents, if he chose, but he would find it very difficult to get pupils. . . . But the masters of our English or commercial schools labour under this double disadvantage that not only their moral but their intellectual fitness must be taken upon trust. . . . We have no regular system of secondary education; . . . anything like local universities . . . it is as yet vain to look for.

Arnold gives the following outline of the course of studies usually followed in commercial schools. They teach the three R's, history, geography, English grammar and composition, the rudiments of physical science, "carried on to a greater or less degree of advancement," land-surveying or book-keeping, religion, varying with the instructor.

Sometimes the boys are required to analyse grammatically any sentence in an English book and to give the derivations of the several words in it, just as boys at classical schools are called upon to do in Greek and Latin. And doubtless there may be many commercial schools, especially in the manufacturing districts, where the course of study far surpasses what is here given, and where the instruction on scientific subjects, in chemistry and in mechanics is carried to a high degree of proficiency.

Arnold makes this general statement: "I believe it is generally the case, at least in the agricultural districts, that a boy is taken away from school at fourteen¹."

Knox and Arnold describe the average academy. The aims and attainments of the most efficient private boarding schools of that date were exemplified in the educational labours of the Hill family

¹ Thos. Arnold, *Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 227 ff.

near Birmingham and later at Bruce Castle, Tottenham. The father, Thomas Wright Hill, opened their first school, Hill Top, in 1803; but their greatest achievements are associated with Hazelwood School (1819-33) and the work of his three sons, Rowland, the inventor of penny postage, Matthew Davenport and Arthur¹. The distinctive characters of their work were the elaborate scheme of self-government administered by the pupils, which extended far beyond the bounds of the ordinary prefect system in use at the public schools, and a curriculum which included not only ancient and modern studies, but also many activities not usually found in schools at that time.

The scheme, which dated from 1817, was first made public in 1822, some six years before Arnold went to Rugby, in *Public Education: Plans for the government and liberal instruction of boys in large numbers; as practized at Hazelwood School*². The anonymous authors say:

We endeavour to teach our pupils the arts of self-government and self-education. . . . The principle on which we have acted has been to leave as much as possible all power in the hands of the boys themselves. To this end we permit them to elect a Committee from their own body, in which the laws of the school are proposed, discussed and enacted. The teachers having the regulation only of the routine of exercises and the hours appointed for their performance; and these powers are not exercised individually, but by the acts of the whole body, meeting in conference. Our judicial establishment consists of a Jury-Court over which a Judge presides. Slight offences are disposed of by a magistrate who is at the head of a small but vigorous police. The executive department consists of various officers who, with the judge and magistrate, are appointed from time to time by the Committee. These officers are treasurers of various funds raised in the school; one for charitable purposes, another for the purchase of books and instruments and a third for the purchase and repair of gymnastic apparatus. Each of these little institutions has its President, Secretary and Committee. We have also conservators of the school property, who have the care of the books, drawings and instruments belonging to the general body.

For "successful exertions of a high order," personal marks were awarded to individual pupils, special privileges and standing being

¹ The family opened the Bruce Castle School in 1826; from 1833 onwards it was their sole school-property.

² 2nd edition, 1825. The book was reviewed by Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1825, and by De Quincey in the *London Magazine*, 1826.

accorded to the recipients. "Transferable marks" in counters of various denominations formed a "general medium for discharge of penalties." Fines in this currency and, "very rarely," imprisonment took the place of impositions, public disgrace and corporal punishment.

The school of nearly 120 boys was accommodated in a principal room and six class rooms; an additional room was reserved for the ten or twelve youngest boys, who were kept together for all subjects, while the remainder were classified and re-classified for "each branch of study." In the eight classes of the school the course included orthography, geography, history, parsing, penmanship, arithmetic, mensuration, trigonometry, geometry, algebra, French, Latin and Greek; some of these studies were followed by a part of the school only. Gymnastics and swimming were taught; voluntary labour gave those whose inclinations were not bookish a chance to score marks. The favourite subjects for this purpose were printing at the school press (which published a school magazine), penmanship, drawing, etching, painting, map-making, surveying, making mathematical diagrams, reading up topics for debates, reporting debates and trials before the school jury, work on committees, rote-learning, prose and verse compositions "in various languages," music, modelling animals and making machines. Method was in a measure indebted to Pestalozzi; mapping was done out of doors in association with surveying, geometry began "of course, with practical geometry," speech and matter preceded grammar in language study, the highest class in French was conducted in French. A cautious and well-conducted use of the monitorial system guarded against the mechanical nature of that system. There was a weekly conference of the teachers, which dealt with instruction rather than government; the latter was the function of the Committee, which consisted of the principal, ten resident teachers and fourteen boys elected by their fellows.

The existence of the private schools shows that the monopoly of Latin and Greek was confronted by an aggressive rising tide of public opinion. It is as much evidence of this fact, as of an independent desire for change, that Kennedy on Butler's advice made French part of school "business" at Shrewsbury in 1836, appointed a German master in 1837, and in 1839 added mathematics to the

regular routine. Arnold at Rugby and Wordsworth at Harrow brought French into the curriculum about the same time, or a little earlier. The movement to modernize studies was strengthened by the foundation of the proprietary "colleges" and similar institutions of public school rank, which was a feature of the first ten years of Victoria's reign. Cheltenham, Trinity College, Glenalmond, Liverpool, Marlborough, Rossall, Brighton and Radley belong to this period; Bradfield and Wellington are only a little later. University College School (1828), King's College School (1829) and Blackheath Proprietary School (1830) are pre-Victorian instances of a similar character. These were quasi-public institutions. The development in numbers, status and professional solidarity experienced by the teachers of privately owned schools may be inferred from the establishment in 1846 of the College of Preceptors, for the promotion of middle-class education and, more especially, the training and certification of teachers. The incorporation of the college by royal charter in 1849 was a public and official recognition of the national importance of their labours.

The history of Oxford and Cambridge during the nineteenth century revolves about the adjustment of a well-nigh secular dispute, the relation of the universities to their colleges. The government of the universities as a whole had passed into the hands of the heads of colleges who constituted an oligarchy which resisted all change, either in the university system of exercises or in the privileged and independent position of the colleges. Answering criticism of this state of affairs, Edward Copleston declared in 1810 that "*the University of Oxford is not a national foundation. It is a congeries of foundations, originating some in royal munificence, but more in private piety and bounty.*" Each college "is a corporation by itself," with its own obligations to particular schools, dioceses, counties and even to parishes and founders' kin: "wills and private property take prior claim over schemes of amelioration¹." This adherence to the strictly legal conception of the functions of colleges and universities should be compared with the contemporary ruling of the Court of Chancery, to the effect that the expenditure of trust funds by grammar schools upon teaching other than classical was misappropriation.

Apart from the warlike activity which culminated at Waterloo.

¹ *A reply to the calumnies of the Edinburgh Review.*

the energies of English life were devoted to industrial and commercial expansion and to a still wider diffusion of the material wellbeing which was one of the consequences of the industrial revolution. To progress of this kind, the clerical government and predominantly literary teaching of the universities appeared to many critics to bear no relation. In the meanwhile, there existed a constantly increasing demand for just those branches of knowledge which the universities in their corporate capacity did little, or nothing, to foster. The neglect was frequently attributed by external critics to the college system and to the supersession of the accredited university teachers (the professors), two measures which distinguished Oxford and Cambridge from almost all other universities. The constitution of the four Scottish universities and the somewhat similar organization of the new foundations of Berlin (1810) and Bonn (1818) (all of which might be termed "professorial universities," destitute of colleges in the English sense of the word) were regarded by these critics as models to be followed in the reform of English practice. There were no colleges in the Imperial University, that unique organization of the entire body of French teachers which Napoleon framed in 1808, very largely for state purposes. In the process of change which passed over Oxford and Cambridge during the first half of the nineteenth century a conspicuous part must be assigned to the rehabilitation of the university and of its professoriate, as against the "usurpation" (so Thomas Arnold called it) of the colleges.

But it must not be supposed that the reform of the two universities was the result of purely external pressure. Between 1770 and 1850 the most persistent and the most successful demands for change came from resident members of the two universities; the legislation of 1854-8, which transformed them, was instigated by those who were themselves teachers in Oxford or Cambridge. The first reforms to be effected were those concerned with examinations and curriculum. Cambridge, owing to the practice of holding university examinations publicly and by written papers in the Senate House, had largely emancipated herself, as early as 1780, from the old, farcical exercises which led to the first degree. The corresponding reform at Oxford was initiated by the Public Examination Statute of 1800, whereby the university assimilated its procedure to that of its most efficient colleges; the statute

underwent modifications during the next thirty years, the effect of which was to set up two separate sets of examinations, pass and honours, for the B.A. degree, conducted by paid examiners, and to make the staple subjects of examination in *litteris humanioribus*, Latin, Greek, ancient history and philosophy. An examination for the degree of B.C.L. was instituted and another for that of M.A.; but the latter, after a short trial, was given up.

The new position of importance which these examinations won for the university exercises tended to encourage modern studies and to improve the standing of their professors. The expansion of the curriculum was marked by the setting up of new examinations as university teaching became further differentiated. Until 1824, Cambridge had only one tripos, or honours examination, for the B.A. degree; in that year the Classical Tripos was added to the original tripos, which was in effect a mathematical one. Between 1848 and 1851 two other triposes (Moral Science and Natural Science) were founded. By 1850, Oxford had added to her honours "schools" those in Mathematics, Natural Science, Law and Modern History, Theology. After these dates, in both universities the development of "schools" and "triposes" went steadily onward, new studies becoming avenues to the bachelor's degree.

It has been said above that the tendency of the new system was to improve the status of some of the professors; but this tendency was by no means immediately operative. Indeed, one consequence of the importance attached to examinations was a great stimulation of the educational activities (unkind critics called it "cramming") of the college tutors, and a corresponding decline in the independent study, research and teaching of the university professors. In 1850 there were more than 1500 persons *in statu pupillari* at Oxford; the following particulars of attendance at professorial lectures is instructive on this head: modern history, eight; chemistry and botany, six each; Greek (the regius chair), Arabic, Sanskrit, Anglo-Saxon and medicine, none. It was facts like these which caused Mark Pattison at a later date to speak of "the unwholesome system of examinations which is now undermining the educational value of the work we actually do¹."

The clerical government of Oxford and Cambridge was based

¹ *Suggestions on Academical Organisation*, 1868.

upon the parliamentary legislation of the days of Elizabeth, Charles II and Anne, which shut out the dissenter from a share in public education. Apart from scholarships and exhibitions, few of which were open to all comers, the insistence on membership of a college placed a university education beyond the reach of the poor. In the days preceding the passage of the first Reform Bill, these two aggrieved classes, the nonconformists and the poor who realized the advantages of an education from which they were excluded, were more numerous and influential than they had been for the greater part of the preceding two and a half centuries. They were strengthened by a growing public opinion which was hostile to all forms of privilege, whether of persons or of corporations, and they were only less directly aided by a widespread conviction amongst educational reformers that only by breaking down the monopoly enjoyed by the two universities could the cause of modern studies be effectively served. The conditions of English life at the time accentuated the demand for those studies and, more especially, for a wide diffusion of a knowledge of science and of its practical applications.

All these potential factors of change were brought to a head by the action of the poet, Thomas Campbell, who, as editor of a London magazine, had become a pronounced advocate of educational reform. An admirer of German institutions, he was especially impressed by the constitution, courses of studies and professorial organization of the University of Bonn, which he had visited in 1820, some two years after its foundation. In a celebrated letter to *The Times* of the 9th February, 1825, and again in the *New Monthly Magazine*, he suggested the foundation of a university in London modelled in some respects on the German institution. The idea was welcomed by Henry Brougham, Birkbeck, Francis Place and others of the "education-mad" party, who quickly established an association to carry it into effect. The prospectus which was issued by this association in 1826 stated as the primary purpose of the movement, the provision of literary and scientific instruction at a moderate cost. The curriculum was to comprise "languages, mathematics, physics, the mental and moral sciences, together with the laws of England, history and political economy, and the various branches of knowledge which are the objects of a medical education," in brief, general culture

and professional training. The tuition fee, medicine excepted, was fixed at £25 *per annum*. Following the Scottish and German models no arrangement was made for the social life of the students or for any activities outside the lecture room. The Duke of Sussex laid the foundation-stone of the building in Gower Street in the spring of 1827 and in October, 1828, the "University of London," unchartered, without official recognition and virtually a private institution, was formally opened with some three hundred, or more, students and a distinguished body of teachers.

However much Campbell and his coadjutors were influenced by the example of Bonn University, they parted absolutely from the German model in one most important respect, namely, the place of religious education in a university. At Bonn, provision was made for the teaching of theology by the foundation of Catholic and Protestant chairs, the denominational character of such instruction being accepted as a matter of course. The London college solved the "religious difficulty," or shelved it, by cutting religious teaching altogether out of its curriculum. Its council made the statement that it

found it impossible to unite the principles of free admission to persons of all religious denominations with any plan of theological instruction, or any form of religious discipline; and they were thus compelled by necessity to leave this great and primary object of education, which they deem far too important for compromise, to the direction and superintendence of the natural guardians of the pupils.

The lack of public standing from which the new establishment suffered was a disability which had marked the beginning of Oxford and of Paris; it also followed the precedent set by those humbler institutions which were then providing large numbers of the English middle class with education. But it did not conceal the political import of the innovation nor the influential character of its supporters. The council, chiefly composed of prominent men, peers and commoners, was encouraged in high quarters to ask for a charter from the Crown. In consequence, political and ecclesiastical partisans were roused to active rivalry, in which they were supported by the numerous body of disinterested persons who considered religion to be an essential element of education and that the teaching of the Church of England ought to make an integral part of every form of English public education.

The Duke of Wellington, who had recently become prime minister, presided at a public meeting held in June, 1828, at which it was resolved to establish a college for general education, of which religious instruction should form an essential element. Effect was given to this resolution by the foundation of King's College, London,

for the purpose of giving instruction in the various branches of literature and science and the doctrines and duties of Christianity as the same are inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland.

This is the language of its charter, granted in August, 1829. The college was opened in the Strand, adjoining Somerset House, in October, 1831. The course of studies, religious teaching excepted, was similar to that pursued in Gower Street.

In the public interest, it was not expedient that controversy should hamper the work of two colleges which had made themselves responsible for so much of the higher education of the metropolis; nor was it satisfactory, in the light of modern practice, that a "University of London" should be a private corporation. A settlement was reached during Sir Robert Peel's ministry in 1836. In November of that year the elder institution received its charter as University College, London; and on the same day the present university was founded by a charter "granted to persons eminent in literature and science, to act as a Board of Examiners and to perform the functions of the Examiners in the Senate House of Cambridge; this body to be termed the University of London." Thus, the movement intended to create a university in which colleges should have no place brought two colleges into existence and, incidentally, created a university whose teaching could only be given by those colleges.

Pupils from University and King's College to be admitted on certificates of having gone through a course of study at those establishments, and having obtained a proficiency to pass for a Degree, and having conducted themselves to the satisfaction of the Governing Bodies of those Colleges, to be examined and to be classed according to their relative merits.

By the year 1850, affiliation to the university was extended to a number of institutions of varying merit, situated in different parts of the country. The outcome was most injurious to the higher education of London, for the teaching function of its university

was overshadowed entirely by its work of examining for degrees. The plan of affiliation broke down in consequence of its inability to maintain a high level of scholarship, and in 1858 it was abandoned. For the next forty years the University of London was a purely examining body, prepared to examine all comers, but without any vital relation to the two London colleges which had given it birth. University and King's Colleges showed no lack of enterprise in entering upon new fields of teaching and research, or of undertaking schemes of education hitherto untried; but they were greatly handicapped by the anomalous position which they occupied with reference to the University of London during the period 1858-1898.

The University of Durham, projected in 1831 and chartered in 1837, was "collegiate" from the outset, and in curriculum and organization it pursued much the same lines as Oxford. Unlike most English educational foundations of the nineteenth century it was endowed, funds being provided from the great revenues of the see and the cathedral chapter.

The University of London furnished precedents for the government, when attempts were made to extend university education in Ireland, attempts which attained but small success. The divorce between education and religion effected by University College, London, was made a root principle of the Queen's Colleges established in 1845 at Belfast, Cork and Galway; the same principle was adopted in the foundation of the Owens College, Manchester, 1851, after which date it may be regarded as a constraining rule in the construction of all higher educational measures undertaken by the British Government. The three Irish Queen's Colleges were united in 1850, for the purposes of examination and conferring degrees, as the Queen's University, thus introducing the unsatisfactory "federal" type of university, a precedent subsequently followed in England and Wales. It may be added here that the Queen's University was superseded in 1880 by the Royal University of Ireland, a purely examining body prepared to test all comers, a practice strongly condemned by the Royal Commission which reported in 1903. Five years later the National University of Ireland was formed from the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway, with the addition in 1909 of University College, Dublin. The Belfast College became the Queen's University of Belfast in that year.

The mid-nineteenth century witnessed the opening of a period of educational discussion, legislation and practical experiment which lasted for fifty years, all grades of English education undergoing such fundamental changes in its course, that, at its close, the phrase, "English national education" begins to have an intelligible meaning. The universities came first, the movement for their reform springing from Oxford and Cambridge themselves, whose resident members in considerable numbers addressed memorials to the Government begging the appointment of a Royal Commission of inquiry. The request was granted and the Commissions were appointed in 1850. Effect was given to their recommendations by Act of Parliament direct or through college statutes authorized by Parliament (1854-1858). In consequence, the monopoly so long exercised by the colleges at the expense of the university was broken. A body elected from heads of colleges, professors and resident Masters of Arts replaced the oligarchies of college heads and proctors which, as the Hebdomadal Council at Oxford and the Caput at Cambridge, had governed the two universities throughout the preceding three centuries. Private halls, or hostels, were once more authorized and, later, non-collegiate or unattached students reappeared after an absence dating at Oxford from the early fifteenth century. The professoriate was increased in number and professors' stipends were greatly augmented out of college revenues. On the other hand, the colleges obtained new constitutions which set them free from irksome obligations to particular places, schools and families, recruited their members from men capable of securing scholarships and fellowships in open competition and conferred a more assured standing and greater power upon the senior members of the societies. It was forbidden to impose a theological test at matriculation, or on taking the degree of B.A. But Nonconformists were not made absolutely free of the universities and colleges of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham before the passing of the Universities Tests Act of 1871. That Act was the successful issue of an agitation which had periodically arisen in the two ancient universities during the preceding one hundred years.

The consciousness of responsibility for national education as a whole appears in the institution of the Local Examinations of schoolboys by Oxford in 1857 and by Cambridge in 1858; the pur-

pose of these is indicated by the name usually applied to them for many years—"the Middle Class Examinations." But this particular form of interest in schools below the first rank did not originate spontaneously at any university. As has been said, middle class education at that time was largely conducted by private schools; and private school masters were represented by the College of Preceptors. In the year 1850, the College decided to examine the pupils of schools and to award certificates to those who were successful. It was resolved to create an authoritative standard of attainment on the ground that it would at once improve education generally and remove

one of the greatest difficulties and discouragements under which the middle-class schoolmaster lies—the want of a guarantee to the public for his own qualifications and for the proficiency of his pupils.

The first examination was held soon after the decision was taken, and from 1853 onwards the examinations of the College of Preceptors have shared with the University "Locals" in improving the work of secondary schools¹.

Examinations stood in a position of great repute and public confidence at this period. They were first instituted for admission to the Indian Civil Service in 1854; from the following year, entrance to the Royal Military College, Woolwich, and to certain positions in the Home Civil Service was similarly fenced. After 1870 the passing of an examination became a qualification almost universally demanded from those seeking employment in any grade of the Civil Service. When criticising the importance attached by Robert Lowe's Code to examination as part of the machinery which administered primary education, it is necessary to bear in mind the belief commonly held about the year 1862 as to the great value of examinations.

The Royal Commissions and the consequent legislation greatly affected the universities themselves and English education generally. The extension and renovation of the curriculum, the increase in the number of the professors and the enhancement of their standing, the removal of privilege, all had their effect in raising the number of students and in recruiting these from social classes which had almost ceased to desire university education since the

¹ Since 1873 Oxford and Cambridge have co-operated through a Joint Board in the examination of schools of Public School standing.

sixteenth century, or which had come into existence since that time. In other words, Oxford and Cambridge began to resume the place in the national life which they had in great measure lost during the eighteenth century.

Yet the general effect of these changes did not alter but rather intensified a characteristic which had long marked British universities and now almost amounted to a peculiarity. While the more general view was, and is, that the first function of a university is to be an active home of research and learning, a maker of knowledge, so to say, a Solomon's House as Bacon imagined it, in which teaching is subsidiary to investigation, the practice of British universities was, and still is, to regard themselves primarily as places of education, or superior schools continuing the instruction begun in the schools proper, while research is merely episodic, to be carried out as time and opportunity serve the frequently overworked teacher. In the one view, the university teacher is chiefly a schoolmaster, continuing to a more advanced stage the instruction of a partially educated pupil; in the other, his business is to advance knowledge and so to teach pupils, already educated, the fundamentals of method in a given study, that they in turn may share in advancing knowledge. This, of course, is stating the matter baldly; the age of men and women who are pupils at our older universities and the system of honours schools and triposes affords a partial means of accommodating the two views.

Those who, in the "sixties" of last century, desired to change British practice hoped to do so by further attacking the college system of Oxford and Cambridge. In the work already quoted, Mark Pattison urged that

the professor of a modern university ought to regard himself primarily as a learner and a teacher only secondarily. . . . In order then to make Oxford a seat of education, it must first be made a seat of science and learning. All attempts to stimulate its teaching activity, without adding to its solid possession of the field of science will only feed the unwholesome system of examinations which is now undermining the educational value of the work we actually do.

In other words, the purely educational labour of the college tutor must give way to the research of the university instructor. In 1871 the then Liberal Government was advised to make inquiry into the revenues of Oxford and Cambridge and of their colleges;

in the following year a Royal Commission was appointed which reported in 1874. Effect was given to the Commission's recommendations in the "Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act" of 1877, passed under a Conservative Government. This Act, or the statutory commissioners which it appointed, transferred considerable sums of college revenue to such university uses as the increase in the number and stipends of professors, readers and lecturers, the provision of buildings and libraries; boards of faculties for the supervision of studies were instituted and arrangements initiated for the delivery of intercollegiate lectures, thus making the teaching of individual colleges accessible to the university in general. The senior resident members had hitherto formed a community almost entirely celibate; the removal of restrictions upon the marriage of fellows revolutionized their social life and, in a less degree, that of their juniors.

In the meantime profound changes had taken place in the daily life of both universities outside the lecture room. The clubs, chiefly athletic, formed in the early part of the nineteenth century were re-inforced by the creation of literary, scientific, political and other societies interested in objects not purely academical. The Oxford Union Society was founded in 1824; the Cambridge "Union" began informally about the same date.

The reforms introduced by legislation and the social changes wrought by the process of normal development greatly added to the educational efficiency of the universities, but did little to realize their more especial purpose. Matthew Arnold had in effect already told the country that the universities could not exercise their higher office until secondary education had become so organized and so general that the universities could cease to serve as schools¹. His watch-word, "Organize your secondary schools," is only now being acted upon and the action is too recent to have affected the relative positions of school and university in any appreciable degree.

¹ See *Schools and Universities on the Continent*, 1868. *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL ELEMENTARY SYSTEM

DURING the closing years of William IV, English elementary schools were maintained by a variety of agencies, none of which was in a position to furnish exact statistics of its activity. Their receipt of public money (the annual Parliamentary grant of £20,000) and the uniformity of their organization gave the premier place to the schools of the National Society and of the British and Foreign School Society, the two accredited representatives of the voluntary system. But in point of numbers, the Sunday Schools came first, and for that reason were always included by contemporary writers in the public provision for elementary education. Thus, the Report (1834-5) of the Manchester Statistical Society states

that the number of children attending these schools is very considerable, being half as many more as those attending all the other schools put together. That taking into account the miserable state of dame and common day schools¹, which are attended by two-thirds of all the children of the lower orders who are under course of daily instruction, it may be well doubted whether the instruction at Sunday schools, inadequate as it may appear, and as it really is, be not yet the most valuable that at present exists in the borough for the children of the lower classes of the people.

It has been surmised that about one-third of all the children receiving elementary teaching were attending schools which were privately owned and conducted; these varied extraordinarily, from reasonably efficient schools deserving the name to medleys of children very inefficiently taught in hovels and cellars.

There is a school in the court, attended by about fifty scholars, held in a room twelve feet square and eight and a half feet high, which is the

¹ The Report's name for the least efficient privately conducted schools, not including "National" or "British" schools.

sole dwelling of the schoolmaster, his wife and six children. The unwholesome condition of the air under these circumstances may be easily conceived. The mode of payment to the teacher of this school is remarkable and characteristic. A kind of club, which does not consist exclusively of the parents of the scholars, meets every Saturday evening at a public-house; when, after some hours spent in drinking and smoking, a subscription is raised and handed over to the schoolmaster, who forms one of the company and who is expected to spend part of the money in regaling the subscribers¹.

This passage comes from the report of an inquiry conducted in 1837 by parishioners of St Marylebone; it relates to fellow-parishioners resident "within a few yards of one of the most fashionable squares in the metropolis." It is perhaps needless to add that these persons had no choice but to live in over-crowded dwellings, an evil styled by the report "this comfortless and demoralising arrangement."

The recently introduced infant schools numbered about 150 in England and Wales in 1835; some of the old charity schools had become "National Schools," while others retained their original position. Messrs Dale and Owen were not singular amongst mill-owners in their care for the education of their work-people's children; many cotton factories maintained elementary schools. Thomas Ashton, of Hyde, Cheshire, was a distinguished example of this enlightened policy. *The Supplementary Report* [to the First Report] of the *Factory Commissioners* says that

this gentleman has built a school, in which 640 children are instructed on Sundays in reading, writing and arithmetic; with a library attached to it, where the operatives read after the conclusion of their work. He has also founded an infant school, in which 200 children are educated; and two night schools where instruction of a superior character is imparted.

The widespread desire for instruction encouraged the maintenance of evening schools by private teachers and by managers of Sunday Schools; and organizations of all kinds of elementary schools regularly included a library of pious or useful books as part of their equipment.

For the education of the destitute there were the charity schools, schools of industry, or manual labour schools, orphan schools and workhouse schools, most of the last being very bad.

¹ *Central Society of Education, Second Publication, 1838, p. 254.*

For the afflicted, there were schools for the blind, the deaf and dumb; for the criminal, the reformatory schools. The schools of industry, sometimes supported by the parish rates, more often by voluntary subscription, in addition to reading and, very rarely, writing and summing, taught, according to sex and local opportunity, needlework, house-work, printing, tailoring, shoemaking, knitting, basket-making, laundry, straw-plaiting, gardening.

As has been said, accuracy of statistics relating to this period of our educational history is not attainable and all figures must be taken with reserve. Of an estimated population in 1833 of 14,400,000, very nearly two million children belonged to the working classes. According to the standard then generally accepted, but not attained in England and Wales, one-eighth of the entire population should be at school. This would mean 1,550,000 boys and girls of the working classes under instruction; Dr Sadler puts the number then actually attending the schools above enumerated at nearly 900,000¹. That is, from two-fifths to one-half of the children were without any kind of schooling.

The pupils cost about one pound *per annum* each, of which the parents paid about one-third in schools partly maintained by voluntary subscription and assisted by the State grant. School life, in those cases where its duration could be estimated, seems to have lasted from eighteen months to two years, ceasing about the age of eleven. In Sunday Schools, where instruction was invariably gratuitous, pupils customarily attended for about four years, from the age of eight. According to the standard of the present day, attendance was grossly irregular in all kinds of elementary day schools.

The instruction was almost entirely confined to religious teaching, reading, writing and arithmetic; some very exceptional schools added advanced arithmetic, geometry and mapping. Some National Schools gave industrial training; the early Reports of the National Society were printed by the boys of Gower's Walk School, Whitechapel. Few Sunday Schools got beyond religious instruction, spelling and reading, the Bible being the primer for this last subject. Yet these schools contained the majority of pupils and a competent witness averred that in Birmingham, then a town of 120,000 persons, "Sunday schools have to this day been

¹ *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, vol. II. p. 446.

the principal means of diffusing education¹." The great undenominational Sunday School at Stockport, with its four auxiliary schools, gave religious instruction and teaching in the three R's to 5000 boys and girls. Some Sunday Schools were associated with week-day evening classes which gave instruction in writing and summing.

Speaking of the schools generally, we cannot hope that more is acquired than an imperfect power of reading (not sufficient in many cases to enable a child to read with pleasure to itself), a yet more imperfect power of writing, and an acquaintance with the first three or four rules in arithmetic. In the schools in country parishes especially, the knowledge obtained is, we fear, exceedingly scanty. The Bishop of London in his evidence before the Education Committee says that few children in country schools do more than acquire the power of reading a chapter in the Gospels with tolerable correctness².

The Bishop probably took too favourable a view; as late as 1845 Henry Moseley, one of the Inspectors of Schools under the Committee of Council, reported that in the Midlands only one child in six of those at school could read the Bible fluently.

The National and British Schools were taught and organized on the monitorial system, and other schools adopted the same system as far as they were able. But the cardinal defect in schools so conducted was, after the experience of thirty years, becoming evident to some observers; and that defect accounted for the very limited success which the schools attained. The Manchester Statistical Society reported (1834-5) as follows on a local school of 1040 scholars:

In the Lancasterian School, for example, and in others where a very large number of scholars are placed under the direction of one master, the plan of instruction is too mechanical; and, while the children make considerable progress in such branches of knowledge as can be taught in this manner, particularly in writing and arithmetic, many other branches of useful knowledge and, still more, the general cultivation of their mental powers are often totally neglected.

Yet this school, one of the best of its kind, enjoyed unusually favourable conditions. Many of its monitors were paid and among

¹ Frederic Hill, *National Education, its present state and prospects*, 1836, p. 113.

² F. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 72. The reference is to the Select Committee of the House of Commons which sat during 1834-5.

the pupils were "children of small shop-keepers, overlookers, superior mechanics and handicraftsmen." The school

was necessarily limited to what boys from twelve to fourteen, or at most fifteen, could teach. They, too, received their instruction in a monitorial class in the school hours, and the efficiency of the school therefore depended on the time which the master could devote to this class¹.

Monitorial schools under less efficient management also suffered from a defect which made them demoralizing agents and brought the system into contempt amongst parents and pupils. In such badly conducted schools monitors of an age too young to be conscious of moral responsibility, although old enough to "teach," were open to the charges of favouritism and petty bribery. The evidence is to be found in the investigations of the contemporary Central Society of Education.

The monitorial system had not solved the problem, how to form a body of fit teachers. It had been Lancaster's purpose from the beginning of his more public career to train schoolmasters; and the two great societies which owed their existence to Bell and Lancaster endeavoured to carry out that intention. The British and Foreign School Society trained teachers in association with its model school in Borough Road, Southwark; the National Society used its model school in the Sanctuary, Westminster, for the same purpose, and it also had smaller training establishments elsewhere. But the lads and young men who came up for training usually possessed but scanty knowledge even of those humble branches which they were thereafter to teach. They had therefore at one and the same time to acquire knowledge and the art of communicating it to children. In Westminster they passed up the school from the lowest class, as though they themselves were pupils. In this way they acquired, not principles, but "the system." Their course was brief, the average duration being three months. In consequence, the hours of toil were excessive; at Southwark, work began at 5 a.m. and ceased at 9 p.m.

Between 1817 and 1827, David Stow (1793-1864), the Glasgow philanthropist and educator, was working out in Sunday and infant schools the main ideas of his "Training System" or "Bible Training

¹ See J. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education*, 1862, pp. 106-7.

System." In 1827, he opened a small school and admitted a few men and women to be trained as teachers. His fundamental principle was that education should aim at a religious and moral cultivation of character; he attached the greatest importance to the habits of intercourse formed by children collected in large numbers, and for that reason regarded the play-ground, "the uncovered school," as a necessary factor in a child's education. A somewhat crude appreciation of crowd psychology, "the sympathy of numbers," led him to ascribe an altogether exaggerated value to the answering of questions, usually in single words, by a large number of children simultaneously. Stow and the teachers trained by him were remarkably skilful in making word-pictures of any matter which they desired to put before a large class; they successfully applied "picturing out" to Scripture texts and to abstract statements which do not make an obvious appeal to visual imagination.

At this period, there were British students of popular education as practised on the Continent who were leavening opinion in this country, and through them a better understanding was being formed respecting the nature and aims of the French *école normale* and of the training of teachers as Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, Father Girard and the German followers of these Swiss educators conducted it. In the ten volumes of the *Quarterly Journal of Education*, which were published between 1831 and 1835 by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the provision for education made by the several European states (Denmark, Austria and the Balkans excepted), by the United States of America and by India were described, while the whole field of British education was surveyed and educational intelligence, home and foreign, was regularly reported in every one of the twenty issues which completed the work. Switzerland, Prussia and the training of teachers were special objects of interest¹. The *Quarterly Journal* ceased to appear after 1835, but its work and influence were continued by the publications (1837-8) of the Central Society of Education, whose membership included the Lord Chief Justice (Denman), Sir Thomas Wyse, William Allen, Lord John Russell, Augustus De Morgan, George Long and Sir William Molesworth, men who had

¹ In 1833, proposals were made for the institution of a chair of Education and of a normal school in London University—i.e. University College.

already taken, or were destined to take, prominent parts in shaping educational policy and practice. This association proposed to itself a close and laborious study of the aims, methods and statistics of education as practised throughout the civilized world, and to attempt by way of induction "to give to the theory of education a more scientific character than it has as yet assumed." The society's publications revealed the very meagre character of the instruction given in English elementary schools and to their teachers, when contrasted with the courses of study followed in Prussian and Swiss schools and normal schools for teachers. Whereas the training of the English teachers was limited to a few months in which they learned "the system" as practised in the schools of the National or British and Foreign School Societies, the Prussian schoolmasters, before appointment, took a three years' course devoted partly to their own education (which was not confined to the subjects they were afterwards to teach), partly to professional study and practice.

Some few students of foreign education were desirous of establishing in England a State primary system on the foreign model. The Treasury minute which gave effect to the Parliamentary grant of £20,000 *per annum* for elementary schools was dated 30th August, 1833. Just one month earlier Mr Roebuck had failed to carry the House of Commons with him in the demand for compulsory, universal schooling¹. "In general terms, I would say that I would oblige by law every child in Great Britain and Ireland from perhaps six years of age to twelve years of age to be a regular attendant at school." Lord Brougham, the recognized protagonist of the educational reformers, did not approve this root-and-branch policy. In 1835, he told the House of Lords that the voluntary system had proved very successful and that it needed supplementing, not superseding. Yet in the same speech he described the "ordinary day schools" as too few in number and the instruction given in them as hardly deserving the name.

You can scarcely say more in its praise than that it is better than nothing and that the youth are far better employed than idling away their time in the streets. They learn reading, some writing and a very little arithmetic.

¹ See p. 265 above.

But similar schools in France and in other continental countries were also teaching geography, natural history, practical geometry and linear drawing. The crying need in England was the creation of normal schools, "seminaries where good schoolmasters may be trained and taught the duties of their profession," which Prussia, France and Switzerland regarded as essential parts of any scheme of public instruction. Parliament endorsed this last opinion by voting £10,000 "towards the erection of normal or model schools"; but much opposition arose both amongst Churchmen and Nonconformists, and the plan was not put into operation.

However, a further step towards a national system of education was taken in April, 1839, when Lord Melbourne's Government created by Order in Council "the Committee of the Privy Council on Education," consisting of four Ministers of the Crown, whose function it should be "to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education." The policy of the Government in creating this Committee was briefly outlined in a letter written in February, 1839, at the Queen's command, by Lord John Russell to the Lord President of the Council (Lansdowne). It was intended to establish a State normal school, to replace the monitorial system of teaching in one large room by a scheme whereby adult masters and mistresses taught in separate class-rooms (yet another foreign practice) and to supervise the schools by means of a body of State inspectors¹.

The first secretary of the Committee of Council on Education was Dr James Philips-Kay, afterwards known as Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (1804-77), whom the *Dictionary of National Biography* not inaptly styles "the founder of English popular education." Before his appointment, Dr Philips-Kay had served the Manchester Board of Health and in 1835 he became an assistant poor-law commissioner. He had visited many European capitals in order to note the conditions under which the poor lived and he had studied the educational systems of Holland, Prussia and Saxony. In Switzerland, he had made the acquaintance of Father Girard at Fribourg, of Fellenberg at Hofwyl and at Kreuzlingen of Wehrli, who had conducted Fellenberg's Poor School for twenty-three years, before he became principal of the normal school maintained by his native canton, Thurgovia. Philips-Kay was therefore

¹ See Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education*, 1862, pp. 200 ff.

the very man to assist in shaping the measures required by the avowed policy of the Government.

The new Committee came into being on the 10th of April, 1839. On the 13th of April it considered a project for a National Normal School in which "candidates for the office of teacher in schools for the poorer classes" might "acquire the knowledge necessary to the exercise of their future profession and . . . be practised in the most approved methods of religious and moral training and instruction." A "model school," giving instruction to children between three and fourteen years of age, formed an essential part of the design. Its pupils were to be grouped in classes of forty or fifty children, each class in its separate room, with a gallery for numbers above fifty, when the matter of instruction did not demand a less number of pupils in a group. The teaching was "to include instruction in industry as a special department of the moral training of the children," training which was to be "at all times an object of special solicitude." The children were to be practised in various employments and during recreation time they were "to develop strength and activity" through special exercises. The usual teaching in reading, writing and summing was to form the staple of the school course, which was to keep "in close relation with the condition of workmen and servants." Religion was "to be combined with the whole matter of instruction and to regulate the entire system of discipline." To carry out this last purpose and to respect liberty of conscience, religious instruction was to be both "general," that is, limited to Bible-reading, and "special," or denominational, given by the Church of England chaplain or, at parents' request, by Nonconformist ministers specially licensed for the purpose. The latter plan was then, as it still is, the German solution of the "religious difficulty."

But it pleased neither Churchmen nor Nonconformists; and the entire conception offended the numerous persons of all parties who were opposed to State interference in education. The opposition was so great and so heated that the Government withdrew the scheme within less than two months after its publication by the Committee. No English Government has since ventured to revive the project of a State normal school.

The Committee was able to carry its recommendation that grants to schools should be conditional on.

the right of inspection . . . in order to secure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several schools, with such improvements as may from time to time be suggested by the Committee.

Inspection by State officials was a much more powerful instrument of public control than could be effected through any normal school.

Notwithstanding the determined and successful opposition to the Committee's scheme of religious instruction, the retention of religious teaching in schools was very generally regarded as an essential principle of public policy. The annual grant for education was in 1839 raised to £30,000 and the Committee's Minutes of that year directed that schools not in connexion with either of the great distributing societies might share in the grant, provided that Bible-reading formed part of the school course, with power to the parents to withdraw children from that part of it. Yet the principle proved a serious embarrassment to the public administration of schools. A Bill, introduced in 1842 by the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, provided separate denominational teaching under the sanction of a conscience clause in schools supported from the poor-rate; but it was defeated by the Nonconformists as an unnecessary attack on the voluntary system. Even the reasonable requirement that schools in receipt of public money should submit to public inspection seemed to infringe the rights of conscience, since State officials thereby became inquirers into the extent and character of the religious teaching given in schools founded to maintain different conceptions of religious truth. The Committee's Minutes of 1840 gave to the two Archbishops the function of sanctioning the appointments of school inspectors, and in 1843 the privilege of vetoing the visits of a particular inspector to their schools was, with some hesitation, accepted by the British and Foreign School Society.

In the meantime Stow's modest school and handful of students had made great progress; in 1836-7 premises were built expressly to accommodate the students in training and the four model schools required for their practical instruction¹. This "Glasgow

¹ In 1845, in consequence of the Disruption, the building was transferred, in spite of Stow's protest, to the Church of Scotland. The existing Glasgow Free Church Training College dates from 1847, a monument to its indomitable founder.

Normal Seminary" and the Training System which it taught subsequently became very influential in the elementary schools of Great Britain. In the first place, it had a definite educational scheme to teach; and, unlike the later English training colleges, it was originally a school of purely professional training, theoretical and practical. Its students came to it already prepared by a sound general education, which the English colleges themselves had to give to their students, with a corresponding depreciation in the strictly technical instruction. Much of this instruction was given at Glasgow by means of the "Criticism Lesson," a device of world-wide adoption which enjoyed great repute for the greater part of a century.

In 1838, Philips-Kay told a Select Committee of the House of Commons that Stow's was "the most perfect school of this description with which I am acquainted," a verdict which he endorsed a little later by employing some of its students as tutors in the normal school founded by himself and his friend, Edward Carleton Tufnell. Stow's students included many English men and women; the Wesleyan body sent its future teachers to be trained by him until the establishment of a Wesleyan college in London. John Gill (1818-1910), a Glasgow student, wrote pedagogic text-books which became standard for the primary school teachers of the British Empire. Through these and similar channels, Stow's life and teaching exercised a material influence upon the ideas, professional training and practice of very many thousands of teachers in English schools.

Philips-Kay was fully convinced that the creation of a body of intelligent, educated and trained teachers was one of the first things which English elementary education imperatively needed. His earliest steps (1837-9) to put the conviction into practice had been taken while he was a Poor Law official, in which capacity he re-organized the workhouse schools of Norfolk, then managed on the monitorial system. Experience of that system, fortified by subsequent study of Dutch education, led him to make careful selection amongst the monitors, with the purpose of apprenticing the most promising to the workhouse schoolmasters, whose duty it became to educate these "pupil teachers" and train them for the office of schoolmaster under the Poor Law. The operation of the plan was widely extended by Philips-Kay on his being put in

charge of the Metropolitan Poor Law District. The project of a national normal school having miscarried, he determined to try what private effort could do. Referring to himself and Tufnell, he wrote, when reporting to the Poor Law Commissioners, as follows:

We thought that as a last resort we should not incur the charge of presumption, if, in private and unaided, we endeavoured to work out the first steps of the establishment of an institution for the training of teachers, which we hoped might afterwards be intrusted to abler hands¹.

The two friends in pursuance of this object "chose a spacious manor-house close to the Thames [at Battersea], surrounded by a garden of five acres," and here in February, 1840, they received from the Norwood District School a number of monitors, aged thirteen and upwards, to be trained for the office of schoolmaster. Dr Kay was resident principal, an office which he combined with that of secretary to the Committee of Council. The "Training School at Battersea," to become famous at a later date as "Battersea Training College," "St John's College, Battersea," was at first largely modelled on the Swiss pattern; experience led to the development of a purely English type of normal school. In his First Report Kay said,

We have no wish to send forth simply clever teachers; we believe that the vice of several of the German normal institutions which we have examined has been too great attention paid to instruction as distinct from education. The Swiss schools appeared to us to be mostly free from this defect, and to them we have chiefly resorted as models for what we have done².

At the beginning, two classes of pupils were admitted, "pupil teachers," whose ages ranged from fourteen to twenty-one, and "students" of twenty to thirty. But by 1843 only the "students" remained, the age of admission was fixed at eighteen and their course, as a rule, lasted two years³; in these important particulars, a departure was made from the Swiss type and the distinctively English training college was the result. It was found impossible to restrict the school's operations to pauper education or to rely for maintenance on private subscriptions, or on payments made by or on behalf of the students. The scope of its labours having been greatly widened, the Committee of Council came forward with a

¹ Kay-Shuttleworth, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 368.

³ In this year, the National Society took charge of the school.

grant-in-aid and the students were prepared for general State service, some of them under a definite agreement to that effect. The course of instruction included religion, mathematics, mechanics, English, geography, natural history, music, drawing and pedagogy. Like the curriculum, the frugal mode of life led by the students closely adhered to the Swiss model.

We have therefore met every rising complaint respecting either the quantity or quality of the food, or the humble accommodation in the dormitories, with explanations of the importance of forming in the school habits of frugality, and of the paramount duty of nurturing a patient spirit to meet the privations of the life of a teacher of the poor¹.

The establishment of the Battersea Normal School independently of the State was a challenge to the champions of the voluntary system which aroused a quick response; and the Committee of Council stimulated the movement by including the building of training colleges amongst the purposes to which the annual government grant, increased in 1842 to £40,000, might be devoted by the recipients. Training colleges were erected by the National Society, by various diocesan committees, by the British and Foreign School Society, the Wesleyan Conference (1852), the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee (1852) and similar bodies.

The Committee of Council, with the view to helping teachers already in practice, started at Exeter Hall, London, a series of evening lectures, delivered by experts who avowedly followed French and Pestalozzian models, on the method of teaching arithmetic, singing and drawing; the reports of the school inspectors were distributed to teachers *gratis*, and a list of text-books officially approved for the use of schools was circulated. But the Committee in the early years of its history always worked in the face of much opposition; and by the year 1848 its direct concern in the training of teachers was limited to the "Certificate Examination," first held in that year, which tested the success with which the student had followed his training college course.

Even so, the Government steadily pursued the policy of creating a numerous body of teachers trained for their employment, certified by public authority to be competent and endowed with the status of public servants. To this end, the Committee's Minute of December, 1846, formulated the Pupil-Teacher system.

¹ Kay-Shuttleworth, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

By its provisions, boys and girls of not less than thirteen years of age might be "bound" by an apprenticeship of five years to the masters of elementary, grant-aided schools, and on the completion of their term be qualified to compete for a Queen's Scholarship, which would maintain them at a normal school for a period of two or three years. On the successful completion of the normal school course, the Queen's Scholar became a Certificated Teacher, one-third of his salary assured to him from public funds¹. Superannuation pensions were promised to teachers after long and meritorious service or on disablement². Five years after the passing of these Minutes, the Committee reported that 1173 certificated teachers and 5607 pupil teachers were employed in the grant-aided elementary schools of England and Wales; in 1856 these numbers had become 4373 and 10,245 respectively. In 1859 the teaching corps numbered over twenty-two thousand, more than two-thirds of whom were apprentices, who were the guarantee of a progressive expansion in the ranks of adult teachers.

This Minute of 1846 also proposed to pay grants in aid of schools of industry, which were to be equipped with field-gardens or workshops, and with school kitchens, wash-houses and bake-houses, the aims in view being moral and social rather than economic, and the sphere of the experiment being confined to the very poor, rural and urban. But at no sort of school was attendance to be compulsory, since the Committee regarded compulsion "as ill suited to the genius of this country³."

The twenty years which followed the passing of the First Reform Bill were a time of grave political and social unrest. Dearthness of bread inflicted great hardship upon the bulk of the people; their privations of course did not suddenly cease on the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. Manual workers and unskilled labourers who had hoped for an amelioration of their conditions of life as a consequence of the reformed franchise of 1832 only realized their disappointment. Grievances formulated in the Chartist petitions to Parliament in 1839, 1842, 1848 met no redress;

¹ It was expected that the teacher's yearly minimum salary would be £90, in addition to a house rent free.

² This promise was not redeemed for some forty years and then, naturally to the advantage of very few recipients.

³ Kay-Shuttleworth, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

yet the development of democratic principles and power was evident to all observers. The ignorance of the mass of the population cried for a remedy in the ears both of democrats and of those who doubted or feared democracy.

The circulation of periodicals was greatly restricted by the tax on paper of threepence per pound weight, and by the stamp duty on newspapers which, till 1836, was fourpence per copy. An agitation against the latter duty conducted by the Radical party under the leadership of Brougham, Birkbeck, Place and others succeeded in reducing the impost to one penny per copy in that year. Yet between 1836 and 1855, when the stamp duty was abolished, no London daily paper was sold at less than five-pence the copy. The duty on paper was retained until 1861. The disappearance of these duties involved a change of attitude on the part of the Government with reference to unrestricted discussion of political, social and other burning questions.

The period was also marked by the sharp antagonism of Churchmen and Dissenters, by much ecclesiastical controversy and the disturbance of theological ideas. It was generally recognized that the voluntary system was inadequate to cope with the requirements of popular education, and many were alive to its inefficiency. Yet schemes for the provision of popular education by the State met with strenuous resistance on the ground that all such plans were an infringement of liberty, particularly of religious liberty. The solution of the problem debated by Priestley and others at the close of the eighteenth century had become a much greater matter of urgency by the middle of the nineteenth.

Dr Hook, Vicar of Leeds, cut this Gordian knot in 1846 by proposing that schools which received assistance from public money should eliminate religious instruction from their curriculum and that the omitted, but necessary, teaching should be given to the pupils of these "secular" schools in separate denominational institutions directed by their respective denominational ministers. Government officials regarded the scheme as impracticable; yet it secured some distinguished adherents from both of the opposing camps and stimulated public discussion, especially in Lancashire. In that county the National Public School Association was formed to advocate a secular state system of instruction administered by elected local bodies, while the Manchester and Salford Committee

on Education stood for a denominational municipal system. In this latter scheme Bible-reading was to be an exercise common to all schools, but a conscience clause exempted children from attending denominational religious teaching. A third scheme, initiated in Germany by Basedow and in England by Joseph Lancaster, insisted on the retention of religious teaching in all schools, but insisted equally that this teaching should be strictly undenominational. All three plans were warmly debated throughout the country. It was "the religious difficulty" which made attempts at educational legislation from 1853 to 1868 abortive; a compromise was effected in 1870, only to break down a generation later.

But the *impasse* must not be taken as proving any general indifference to the State's relation to the education of its members. The contrary is the truth, as the action of Parliament shows. The annual grant for elementary education which amounted to £20,000 in 1833, stood at £663,000 in 1858; it increased four-fold between 1852 and the last-named year, while private contributions equalled about twice the amount of the State subventions. In 1853, during the ministry of Lords Derby and Aberdeen, Lord John Russell placed before the Commons a very comprehensive scheme of national education, supported by the government, which aimed at reform in elementary, secondary and university instruction. The Bill which embodied the scheme for elementary education did not secure parliamentary approval; a series of Bills, Government and private, introduced between 1853 and 1868 also failed to pass, but their discussion prepared the way for the passage of the Education Bill of 1870. The formation in 1856 of the Education Department, with the Vice-President of the Council as its head, proved to be an important step in administration; the Department tended increasingly to become the central authority for English primary education right up to its absorption by the Board of Education in 1900.

The anomalous position of the Science and Art Department while administered by the Board of Trade was rectified by its transfer to the control of the Vice-President. In 1836 the Normal School of Design had been instituted, a Parliamentary grant voted for its maintenance and its supervision vested in the public office later termed the Board of Trade; provincial schools of design were

subsequently created by the same means. In 1852 these Schools of Design were administered by an office made for the express purpose and termed the Department of Practical Art, to which in the following year was added a Department of Science. From 1853 this offshoot of the Board of Trade received the name of the Department of Science and Art, the title which it retained on its transfer to the Education Department in 1856. Thenceforth it played an ill-defined part in primary, secondary and, to a smaller extent, technical instruction.

The Parliamentary debates made it clear that the earlier conception of popular instruction as a charitable service to the poor was giving place to the belief that it was the State's interest, if not its duty, to instruct its citizens. Further, it was becoming recognized that this State service could not be satisfactorily undertaken by voluntary societies, but that, if it were to be efficient, it required national and municipal financing and control. It was also clear that the chief obstacle which hindered the organization of this public service was the profound division of opinion respecting the position which religious education ought to occupy in the popular schools, due regard being had to liberty of conscience¹. In the course of the debate on the Government Bill of 1853, W. Johnson Fox, M.P. for Oldham, put forward an administrative principle which, unhappily, worked mischief in later years. He said,

To make the application of national grants most conducive to the improvement of education, remuneration should be given, not in reference to the number of children or the mere amount of attendance, but in reference to the attainment; that it should be the result of something like an inquiry by the inspectors into what was actually taught. Let all the schools retain their present denominational character if they would, but if they were always rewarded in this way, if the amount were proportioned to the amount of education actually realised in the school, that would be a stimulus which would operate very strongly indeed towards raising the character of education².

The speaker betrayed no misgiving as to the possibility of measuring equitably "the *amount* of education realised" in a school;

¹ For the story of these abortive Bills, see Sadler in *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, vol. II. pp. 474 ff.

² *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, vol. II. p. 477, quoting Hansard, vol. 125, pp. 536 ff.

education was a commodity which, like cotton or sugar, could be weighed and paid for, when a bargain had been struck.

While it seemed impossible to secure a common understanding as to the exact method of popular instruction, there was a well-nigh unanimous agreement that the supply of schools was quite insufficient and the instruction given was greatly in need of improvement. Even customary opponents in Parliament joined in demanding a public inquiry into these matters. The response was the appointment in June, 1858, of a Royal Commission, with the Duke of Newcastle as chairman,

to inquire into the present state of popular education in England and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people.

The Newcastle Commission undertook a much more exhaustive inquiry into the condition of English elementary education than had ever before been attempted. While its great sphere was the instruction of the "independent poor," investigation was also made into the education of the pauper, the vagrant, the young criminal; army and navy schools and charitable foundations, such as charity schools and grammar schools reduced by circumstances to purely elementary English teaching, were also included. Ten assistant commissioners were appointed to collect information, of whom Matthew Arnold visited France, French Switzerland and Holland, and Mark Pattison, Germany. Information respecting public instruction was collected from Upper Canada and the United States of America.

The Commission reported in 1861. Its most general judgment was that the voluntary system had justified itself by achieving results which "were not on the whole discouraging" (vol. I. p. 225). While the Government had expended £4,400,000 on national education, twice that sum had been contributed by voluntary subscriptions for the same object. The two societies which represented the voluntary element in 1833 had been increased by the establishment of the Home and Colonial School Society, 1836, the Wesleyan Education Committee, 1840, the London Ragged School Union, 1844, the Catholic Poor School Committee, 1847, the Church Education Society, 1853, the London Committee of British Jews and a large number of Diocesan Boards of the Church of England.

The Congregational Board of Education, 1843, and the Voluntary School Association were opposed to any State interference in education.

In 1858 the population of England and Wales was put at 19,523,103, of whom it was estimated 2,535,462 were children attending school, 321,768 of these being outside the Commission's reference. That is, one person in every 7·7 was attending school, the proportion in Prussia being one in 6·27, in Holland one in 8·11 and in France one in 9. The number of children assumed to be destitute of schooling was 120,305, a number which the experience of ten years later proved to be ludicrously under-estimated. The Committee of Council by state grants

assisted 6897 schools containing 917,255 scholars; but it left unassisted 15,750 denominational schools and about 317 Birkbeck, Ragged and Factory Schools containing altogether 671,393 scholars, while the whole of the private schools, in which 573,536 children attended, were entirely passed over. (Vol. I. p. 295.)

The denominational schools accommodated 85·6 *per cent.* of the children in assisted schools. The annual attendances of 786,202 children fell below 100 days; the majority of the children, a fraction stated as between three-fourths and two-thirds, left school before the age of eleven, failing to reach the first class.

According to F. C. Cook, an inspector of schools, the first class in a good school taught a boy of average attainments at the age of twelve to read fluently and with intelligence, to write very neatly and correctly, to express himself in tolerably correct language (a "comparatively rare" accomplishment, however), to work decimal and vulgar fractions, duodecimals and interest, etc. with accuracy and rapidity, to parse, to know the elements of English history, to make satisfactory progress in geography, in natural philosophy, natural history and the principles of political economy, with the addition of drawing (vol. I. p. 237). Mr Cook seems to have been inclined to make the best of things; the other side of the shield was painted more cautiously. An Assistant Commissioner, James Fraser (afterwards Bishop of Manchester), held

that by ten a boy properly taught in the lower classes will be able to spell correctly the words he uses, to read a newspaper with pleasure and intelligibly, to write a legible and intelligible letter, to make out or test a common shop bill; he will know whereabouts on the globe foreign

countries lie and enough of scripture to follow a homely sermon and to know the Catechism so that he can apply it to his duty to God and his neighbour.

Yet, of 282 schools which he knew, "scarcely one in twelve is in that state of efficiency" which would so equip a child of ten (vol. i. p. 247). The Commissioners, with some hesitation on the score of irregularity of attendance, believed that three-fifths of the children mastered reading, writing, arithmetic and the grounds of religion sufficiently (vol. i. p. 225). Still, the full curriculum of the elementary school included beyond these rudiments geography, grammar, English history, mathematics, mechanics, elementary science, music, and drawing.

The changes which the Commission recommended hinged to a great extent upon this course of studies.

We have been obliged to come to the conclusion that the instruction given is commonly both too ambitious and too superficial in its character, that (except in the very best schools) it has been too exclusively adapted to the elder scholars to the neglect of the younger ones, and that it often omits to secure a thorough grounding in the simplest but most essential parts of instruction. (Vol. i. p. 295.)

Amongst the seven Commissioners there were, according to their own statement, "deeply seated differences of opinion with regard to the duty of the Government towards education." The majority approved the policy of 1839 and the consequent measures which aimed at assisting from public money the education, not of the English people, but "of the independent poor." The minority preferred to leave such charitable aid to "private duty and benevolence," State help being extended only to the destitute, vagrant and criminal classes. The Report of 1861 expressed a compromise which secured "the cordial approval" of this minority.

The labours of the Committee of Council in Kay-Shuttleworth's time aroused no small prejudice in many minds; and the Commissioners as a body do not seem to have escaped the infection. In particular, it was frequently said that Kay-Shuttleworth's measures for securing a competent corps of teachers had established as *quasi* State-servants a body of conceited and pretentiously instructed, trained persons who felt themselves superior to the task for which they were being paid. Why, it was asked, was it necessary to give to the teachers of "the independent poor" "a sort of academical education" which included Latin grammar, mathematics,

English literature, and a branch of science in addition to religious knowledge, Church history and the studies proper to the elementary school?

The inquiry conducted by the Commission showed that, while the elementary school course presumed a school-life prolonged till twelve or fourteen, some three-fourths of the children left school before eleven, and that school attendance was irregular. "Any universal compulsory system," the obvious remedy to be applied, the Commission thought "neither attainable nor desirable." Thus, the Government and the parents were relieved of a responsibility which was passed on to the teachers and the children. The teachers were to be expected to give a complete and satisfactory course of rudimentary instruction to children below the age of eleven and the children themselves were to add what was thought necessary by attendance at night schools after that age. The first of these purposes was to be attained by the system afterwards known as "payment by results." "It is necessary," said the *Report*,

to institute a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are to be paid, with the view of ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge (reading, writing and arithmetic) are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent to a considerable extent on the results of this examination.

This elaboration of W. J. Fox's suggestion to the House of Commons, made eight years before, became the leading principle upon which English elementary education was administered during the next thirty years. The Newcastle Commission had been charged to frame "a sound and cheap elementary instruction"; the adoption of this principle yielded an instruction which was essentially unsound, and which therefore could not possibly be cheap, although it was followed by a drop in the grants paid to the schools from £840,000 in 1861 to £635,000 in 1865.

Kay-Shuttleworth, who had ceased to be Secretary to the Committee of Council in 1849, warned the Commissioners and the Government of the consequences which would follow the adoption of the principle of "payment by results." The effect of its application to schools must of necessity be far-reaching and mischievous. The curriculum would be reduced to the arts of reading, writing and summing, a curriculum inferior to that attempted half a

century earlier in some of the monitorial schools. It would encourage the neglect of the moral and other spiritual factors which constitute the most valuable parts of all education. The status of teachers would be lowered, since it would no longer be necessary to employ well-instructed, well-trained schoolmasters. Grants to schools would be reduced; the schools which, on account of their poverty, required more generous aid would on the contrary earn the smallest grants and would thus be condemned to move in a vicious circle. The Commissioners desired to decentralize administration; but their scheme would destroy local interest by the hopeless financial conditions it was proposed to adopt. It was to be expected that local managers would evade their responsibility by arranging that the schoolmaster or schoolmistress should "farm" the school, virtually conducting it at his own expense and taking all the grant earned to recoup himself. These dismal forebodings proved to be only too true.

From 1846 to 1860, the relations of the Committee of Council and the schools which it aided had been determined by the various "Minutes" issued at different times to give effect to the various developments of the Committee's policy. In the latter year, the whole of these "Minutes" was digested into a Code; the instrument of the central administration of elementary education from that day to this has always been so called, though its substance has suffered many and great vicissitudes. The Code of 1860 affirmed the exclusive, class character of publicly assisted education, thus maintaining the doctrine that the assistance was a charitable one. "The object of the grant is to promote the education of children belonging to the class who support themselves by manual labour." State aid, therefore, was to be regarded as supplementary only to "voluntary local exertions" exercised by religious bodies or in support of biblical instruction.

Every school assisted by the grant must be either (*a*) a school in connexion with some recognised religious denomination; or (*b*) a school in which, besides secular instruction, the Scriptures are read daily from the Authorised Version.

Grants were only payable to schools which were open to H.M. Inspectors.

Upon the issue of the Newcastle Commission's report, Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the Committee of Council, overhauled the

Code with the purpose of giving effect to the principle of payment by results, which was accordingly adopted and elaborated in the Revised Code, whose provisions were to become operative after 30th June, 1862. The State grant to schools was divided into two parts, both reckoned upon the number of individual scholars; in the first place, a payment of four shillings in day schools, of half-a-crown in evening schools might be claimed in respect of each pupil "according to the average number in attendance throughout the year"; in the second place, a sum of eight shillings per scholar (five shillings in evening schools) was dependent upon individual examination. "Every scholar attending more than 200 times . . . for whom 8s. is claimed, forfeits 2s. 8d. for failure to satisfy the inspector in reading, 2s. 8d. in writing and 2s. 8d. in arithmetic." The evening school tariff was 1s. 8d. per subject, the qualifying number of attendances being twenty-four. Further deductions from the grant might be made as fines for defects in premises, staff and management.

The "results" procured by this scheme were far too frequently mechanical results, as valuable as the ponderable associates of spiritual things usually are. Whereas the older order was charged with neglecting the backward and dull, the Revised Code encouraged the neglect of the intelligent and the reduction of all pupils to the level of the lowest capacity in a given school, or class. The Revised Code awarded "cramming," stereotyped the false idea that the three R's are the all-important rudiments of education, thus diverting attention from the moral function of the school and from those exercises in manual skill which are a legitimate part of all school instruction and particularly necessary where the bulk of the pupils ultimately become manual workers. Kay-Shuttleworth charged the Commissioners with intending to destroy the teaching corps which had been slowly developed under the Minutes of 1846; Lowe's Revised Code tried to give this intention full effect by disabling the training colleges and discouraging the apprenticeship of pupil teachers. The former Secretary of the Committee of Council saw in the Revised Code

signs of a deliberate intention to put the education of the poor . . . into the hands of teachers whose knowledge, experience, aptitude and skill are all of a much lower order than those of the present certificated teachers and their assistants¹.

¹ Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education*, 1862, p. 622.

Nemesis was swift to fall upon the cynical author of the Revised Code. Before the year was out, he was charged with garbling the school inspectors' reports and, failing to make good his defence in the House of Commons, he resigned his place in Palmerston's Government. The subsequent history, during nearly thirty years, of English elementary schools is the gradual undoing of the mischief wrought by the Newcastle Commission and Robert Lowe.

But had the Revised Code been other than it was, it perforce could take no note whatever of that "schoolless multitude," as Matthew Arnold described them, of boys and girls who should have been attending schools but were not. Their number was variously estimated at two to two and a quarter million, that is, almost as many as were in attendance. The champions of the voluntary system were for extending its operations, with or without a conscience clause permitting exemption from religious instruction. A strong body of opinion existed in favour of solving by a single measure both the religious difficulty and the problem of increased school accommodation, namely, by supporting schools from locally levied rates and by making the school course wholly secular. Those who favoured this proposal as a rule desired to see school attendance made universally compulsory. Projects, resolutions and abortive bills reflected this difference of opinion in Parliament between 1865 and 1868; the passing of the Second Reform Bill (1867) accentuated the demand for a more general diffusion of education.

The matter was brought to a head in 1870 by the introduction of a Government Bill backed by W. E. Forster, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council, and H. A. Bruce, the Home Secretary.

Notwithstanding the large sums of money we have voted, we find a vast number of children badly taught or utterly untaught, because there are too few schools and too many bad schools, and because there are large numbers of parents in this country who cannot or will not send their children to school.

So Forster described the situation when he introduced his Bill in the House; its danger was emphasized by the extension of the parliamentary franchise through the Act of 1867 to a large number of ill-instructed or illiterate voters, and by the demand for education prevalent amongst the spokesmen of those voters themselves. The growing power of the kingdom of Prussia, commonly thought

to be the best educated nation of Europe, also played a part in arousing the country to its own shortcomings.

The position of religious instruction was the great theme of contention between supporters and opponents of the Bill during the discussion which lasted from February to August, 1870. It was too good a fighting question to allow either side to pay serious attention to the weighty pronouncement of Gathorne Hardy in Committee:

I venture to assert with great respect to those who are agitating the religious difficulty that the difficulty is one which has not sprung from the people themselves. It is a grievance which has gone down from London into the country, and which would never have struck the minds of the people, unless they had been told by those having authority over them that they ought to raise the question.

The Vice-President confirmed this by saying, "Dr Temple¹, who has himself been a schoolmaster, . . . said he believed the religious difficulty was immensely exaggerated and that once we were inside the school it vanished." The mythical character of the "religious difficulty" outside Parliamentary circles was from time to time asserted by some other speakers, but without effect.

In the course of debate it was decided, contrary to the original intention, that local school-boards to administer the Act should be elected by the rate-payers and not by town councils and vestries, and that the voluntary schools should be omitted from its provisions. In addition to the right of exemption from religious instruction secured by the Conscience Clause, 74(2), it was enacted by the Cowper-Temple Clause, 14(2), that "no religious catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school," *i.e.* board-school. This latter clause was passed not so much by reason of its intrinsic merits as on account of the combination in Parliament of compromise, indifference and confidence that other agencies would supply the omission. It did not solve the religious difficulty, as subsequent events proved.

According to Forster, the chief principles of the Bill were "legal enactment that there shall be efficient schools everywhere throughout the kingdom; compulsory provision of such schools if

¹ Bishop of Exeter and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Head Master of Rugby, 1857-69.

and where needed, but not unless proved to be needed." To give satisfactory effect to these principles it was necessary to provide 'an effectual conscience clause, undenominational inspection and compliance with conditions securing secular efficiency.' Timid provision was made for insuring school attendance,

"a slight dose of compulsory education," as one M.P. termed it, by giving the School Boards the power of requiring by bye-law "the parents of children of such age, not less than five years nor more than thirteen years, as may be fixed by the byelaws, to cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend school."

The stipulation that Government inspection of schools must be undenominational signified that the State no longer took any responsibility for religious instruction.

From its origin, the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was a compromise, as Forster admitted on the first reading of the Bill. "We think that it will be supported by both those who wish to protect the present [voluntary] system of education and those who wish to change it"; and he went on to specify the Manchester Education Union and the Birmingham League of Education, whose respective contentions for retaining and abolishing the voluntary system had agitated the country for months. The Act effected a *modus vivendi* which with more or less friction served its purpose for a generation and then broke down. The cross currents of opinion amongst members of Parliament, which disturbed accepted party lines, and the excited feeling of the general public made compromise alone possible. But the Government undertook to legislate with insufficient appreciation of the magnitude of the task and of the scope of the country's need. The school-boards were invented merely to fill gaps; and it was assumed this could be done at comparatively small cost.

Practically, the Bill provides for a rate not exceeding three pence in the pound in order to the carrying out of the requirements of the Act . . . indeed, in my opinion, a smaller levy would be quite sufficient¹.

In the event, a rate five or six times that amount was frequently levied and one of half-a-crown in the pound was not unknown. The Newcastle Commission had been followed by similar inquiries into the education given by Oxford and Cambridge, the public schools and the grammar schools, and Acts of Parliament had been

¹ Forster, on the second reading.

passed thereon. Yet the Vice-President of the Council, the English official who most nearly represented the Minister of Public Instruction in other lands, could say of a Bill devoted exclusively to elementary schools, "unless this bill provides a complete national system of education, our efforts in framing it, your time in considering it, will have been wasted." The inadequacy of the Bill to furnish a complete system was exposed in Committee by the Member for the Universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews; but the only reply to his challenge showed that Prof. Playfair's protest was quite misunderstood.

Yet, in spite of its many defects, this statute marked the acceptance by the nation of a partial responsibility for instructing the vast majority of its members. It placed education amongst the public services. It completely undermined the belief that the education of the mass of the population was a function of semi-private charity, though the public character of that work was not completely vindicated until the Elementary Education Act of 1891 virtually established free education in the public elementary school. The local inquiries initiated by the School Boards of the great cities revealed for the first time the enormous gap they were required to fill; and their efforts to make the want good and to meet needs outside the strictly elementary field rapidly carried those Boards beyond the merely supplementary part assigned to them by the Act of 1870. Within a few years the Board Schools overshadowed the Voluntary Schools in the great towns.

Two later Acts may be regarded as complementary. Lord Sandon's Act (1876) instituted "School Attendance Committees" to be appointed by the Town Council, Urban Sanitary District or the Guardians of the Poor Law Union, where no School Board existed. No child was to be "employed" for wages below the age of ten, and only between that age and fourteen if possessing a certificate of proficiency or of satisfactory school attendance. The parent was obliged to see that his child received efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. By Mundella's Act (1880) school attendance became compulsory and a certificate of satisfactory attendance exempted children between the ages of thirteen and fourteen only. This Act came into force in 1881; the French compulsory law dates from 1882.

CHAPTER XVII

"ORGANIZE YOUR SECONDARY EDUCATION!"

THE legislation of 1870 followed the completion of a survey of English education which, beginning with the two ancient universities in the years 1850-2, covered the whole field, but without attempting any co-ordination of the several parts. In 1861 the Public Schools Commission, under the presidency of the Earl of Clarendon, was appointed to inquire into the financial resources, administration, management, studies, religious and moral training, discipline and general education of Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury. For comparison's sake, information was sought by the Commission from recently-founded schools of a type similar to that of the nine ancient foundations; the deliberations were greatly helped by what was learned from Marlborough, Cheltenham, Wellington, King's College School and the City of London School. Oxford and Cambridge teachers gave their opinions respecting the results of public school teaching and a memorandum on higher education in Prussia was furnished by Bethmann-Hollweg, the responsible minister.

The Clarendon Commission reported in 1864. At the close of 1861 the nine schools were educating 2696 boys between the ages of eight and nineteen, of whom about one in three afterwards passed on to Oxford or Cambridge. Rather less than one-third of the total were at Eton; Harrow and Rugby together taught rather more than Eton alone; Merchant Taylors' had 262 pupils. Of the remaining five not one had 200 boys upon its roll.

As the Commissioners saw it, these schools typified the education then being given to "Englishmen of the higher class." Compared with their condition of twenty-five years earlier, the public schools showed marked progress. The course of study had been enlarged, the method of teaching improved, the staffs had been

increased so far as to bring down the number of pupils taught by one master to a figure between 20 and 40, whereas 80, 100, 200 were not unknown in the earlier time. Boys were better lodged and cared for; roughness of manners had in a great measure disappeared and more work was exacted. Above all, their moral and religious training deserved terms of high praise; their discipline had greatly improved "during the last 30 or 40 years, partly by causes of a general kind, partly by the personal influence and exertions of Dr Arnold and other great schoolmasters¹." The outstanding achievement of the public schools was the maintenance of the classical literatures as the staple of instruction, and the creation of a system of government and discipline which had greatly influenced national character and social life.

But moral cultivation had outpaced intellectual. While the course of study was

sound and valuable in its main elements [*i.e.* Latin and Greek], it was wanting in breadth and flexibility, defects which . . . destroy in many cases, and impair in all, its value as an education of the mind; and which are made more prominent at the present time by the extension of knowledge in various directions and by the multiplied requirements of modern life.

As to the force and efficacy of the organization and teaching of the schools, the Commissioners say,

we have been unable to resist the conclusion that these schools in very different degrees are too indulgent to idleness or struggle ineffectually with it; and that they consequently send out a large proportion of men of idle habits and empty and uncultivated minds²—

surely a no less serious failing in the moral sphere.

At all the schools the primary study, and in some the only real "business," was the classical literatures; yet the Oxford and Cambridge teachers thought the "average of classical attainment unsatisfactory" and that it showed "great want of accurate grounding." All the schools taught arithmetic and mathematics; the same judges considered the results markedly inferior to those attained by the endowed grammar schools. Rugby taught French and German; Eton, having "no time for it," taught neither. The rest taught French or German, more frequently the former. But in all cases the success attained was not equal to the time, pains

¹ *Report*, vol. I. p. 44.

² *ibid.*, vol. I. p. 55.

and ability employed¹. At Rugby natural science was a regular part of the curriculum and an alternative study to the two modern languages; Charterhouse taught chemistry, while occasional lectures on science were delivered by distinguished outsiders to some boys at Eton and Winchester. Harrow held a voluntary *examination* in science. With these slight and, in fact, mostly trivial exceptions, "natural science is practically excluded from the education of the higher classes in England . . . a plain defect and a great practical evil²." The importance of "some attention" to modern history and geography was "recognized more or less at all the schools, but in general there is little systematic teaching of either." The "experienced and eminent" head master of Winchester, Dr Moberly, confessed, "I wish we could teach more history, but as to teaching it in set lessons, I should not know how to do it³." At Rugby and Harrow there was a regular cycle of classical, biblical and English history through which a boy passed as he went up the school. Merchant Taylors' was distinguished by a more effective instruction in non-classical subjects.

The truth seems to be that modern studies were at best only tolerated and at worst permitted to degenerate into a mischievous farce. The responsible authorities would not go to the trouble of revolutionizing the school organization; and nothing less was demanded by the state of affairs. Marlborough, Cheltenham, Wellington and the City of London School had adopted the expedient of setting up a "modern side" with this object; but the Commissioners did not recommend that course to the older schools. The greatest opponent of change was Eton, the school which greatly outnumbered the most frequented of its sisters.

Amongst the evidence of progress at the public schools during the first half of the nineteenth century a place must be given to the better understanding of the educative side of games and to their improved standing. "The importance which the boys themselves attach to games is somewhat greater than might reasonably be desired, but within limits it is highly useful." "The great difficulty of a public school, as every master knows, is simple idleness⁴."

The Commission recommended the formation of new governing bodies of the schools, an allocation of functions between them and

¹ *Report*, vol. I. p. 16.

² *ibid.*, p. 32.

³ *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 41 and 33.

the head masters, the introduction of a school entrance examination in Latin, Greek, arithmetic and the elements of French or German, together with such a reform of curriculum as, while retaining classics in the principal place, would require a more serious attention to mathematics, science, history, geography, English, music or drawing.

The Public Schools Act of 1868, which was intended to give practical effect to the work of the Clarendon Commission, required the seven boarding schools to appoint, each for itself, a new governing body to frame new statutes in each case, and to make new regulations in accordance with those statutes. The resultant changes were to be approved by specially appointed commissioners before their final approval by the Queen in Council.

"Our middle classes are nearly the worst educated in the world. . . . Say to the Government, Regard the necessities of a not distant future and organize your secondary instruction¹." These words express the effect which his cursory inspection of continental education in 1859 had made upon the mind of Matthew Arnold. His business in that year was primary instruction only, but, as he said, that business would be very imperfectly comprehended if separated from the "great subject of secondary instruction." He saw something of the latter and inquired much about it in the spring and summer of 1859. In 1865 he spent seven months as an assistant commissioner making inquiry into the system of education of the middle and upper classes in France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy². At the same time, James Fraser, his colleague under the Newcastle Commission, investigated secondary education in the United States of America and in Canada, and Mr Fearon inspected a number of the burgh schools of Scotland.

These studies of foreign education were pursued on behalf of the Schools Inquiry (or Taunton) Commission which in 1864 was instructed to investigate the condition of schools not falling within the scope of the Newcastle or Clarendon inquiries. This Commission reported in December, 1867, in a series of twenty-one volumes which were published during the two following years.

¹ *Report*, Newcastle Commission, vol. iv. pp. 54, 56.

² Arnold's report will be found in vol. vi. of the Schools Inquiry Commission's Report. Its *practical* value has not yet been exhausted.

The schools in question were classified in the report as endowed, private and proprietary; special attention was directed to girls' schools. In the private schools proprietor and principal were one and the same person; proprietary schools were owned by what was virtually a joint-stock company, whose servant the principal was. The number and whereabouts of these two groups, and more especially of the private schools, were only vaguely apprehended and information about them was secured by the Commission as best it could. An official digest of endowed schools made for Parliament in 1842 showed the existence of 705 schools 'teaching Latin, or Latin and Greek (that is, grammar schools), and nearly 2200 non-classical schools giving purely primary instruction to children of the labouring class. "Viewed as a whole, the condition of school education above the primary has been called a chaos and the condition of the endowed schools is certainly not the least chaotic portion¹"; the schools so classified being "of very various degrees of importance and presenting every variety of excellence and badness²."

It is clear from the information which we ourselves received that there are few endowments applicable to secondary education which are put to the best use and very many which are working to little or bad use³.

The failure is attributed to the active operation of school statutes long out of date, to inefficient governing bodies and to masters wanting in zeal in consequence of permanency of tenure or of income. The presence of an unsatisfactory *endowed* school hindered the establishment of something better in its place.

Of the whole number of endowed schools, 782 were treated as within the terms of reference; the number included grammar schools, schools belonging to cathedral bodies or to Oxford or Cambridge colleges and schools of a similar kind. As a rule, the course of studies assumed that it would be followed by education at a university; but less than one in five of the schools sent boys to Oxford or Cambridge, and less than one in twenty of the endowed schools passed a boy at the London matriculation examination. The total number of endowed school pupils was put at 36,874, about one-fourth being boarders.

¹ *Report*, vol. I. p. 112.

² *ibid.*, p. 108.

³ *ibid.*, p. 106.

In at least two-thirds of the places in England named as towns in the Census there is no public school at all above the primary schools and in the remaining third the school is often insufficient in size or in quality¹.

Schools are divided by the *Report* into three grades, those of the first grade retaining their pupils till the age of eighteen and upwards; the corresponding ages for the second and third grades are respectively sixteen and fourteen. Although the *Report* favours the retention of Latin in the majority of third-grade schools, it suggests for them a preponderant attention to modern and particularly to "English" subjects. Such schools it likens to the "Sekundarschulen of Zurich and the Bürgerschulen of Prussia," that is, schools which are off-shoots of the primary rather than of the secondary plan, like the *écoles primaires supérieures* of France. But the Commission evidently saw its legitimate sphere in the second-grade schools, whether public or private. The chief complaint of the Clarendon Commission is repeated by its successor when animadverting upon these schools.

They do not teach mathematics vigorously, they teach little or no natural science and French is weighted with an extra payment or taught in a way to give little real mental training. These subjects do not get the full share of the teaching and organization of the school. (*Report*, vol. I. p. 103.)

The Commissioners recommended the Realschulen of Germany for imitation by the second-grade schools. While "the instruction in the private schools when compared with that given in the endowed schools has a distinctly more modern cast," the majority of these schools "are not good" and the teaching is superficial rather than sound². The assistant teachers are the chief element of weakness; among the head masters

are to be found not a few men of first-rate ability and attainments . . . more often alive to the needs of the time, better acquainted with the most approved methods of teaching, showing more skill and versatility in dealing with special cases. . . . The disadvantage under which the private schools labour in this regard is not the want of men of ability but the presence of pretenders³.

Though these schools, like the proprietary schools, rest on a basis of social class, they educate a number of pupils roughly estimated at 10,000; they "ought to be put on as good a footing as possible⁴."

¹ *Report*, vol. I. p. 102.

³ *ibid.*, p. 294.

² *ibid.*, pp. 284, 286-7.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 304.

In the proprietary schools, the creation of the past forty years, the Taunton Commission saw the promising agents of educational reform both in organization and curriculum, since they were unfettered by ancient statute or tradition.

Commercially the majority . . . have not succeeded; educationally they have very largely succeeded . . . and the reforms which they were intended to introduce have to a great degree become recognized as in the main right¹. The educational character of proprietary schools stands very high².

The examinations of the University of London, for which many private and proprietary schools of the second grade prepared their pupils, furnished a standard and a stimulus which co-operated influentially in the broadening of curriculum. This was especially the case with the matriculation examination, which became in effect a leaving examination for schools, requiring from every candidate a knowledge of Latin, Greek, English, one modern foreign language, mathematics and the elements of natural science. A similar effect was produced upon secondary schools in general during the period 1853-67 by the examinations of the College of Preceptors and the Oxford and Cambridge "Locals." The number of pupils in proprietary schools known to the Commission appeared to be about 12,000.

As so frequently happened to Royal Commissions, the recommendations of the Taunton inquiry were only partially endorsed by the consequent legislation. Only two or three call for notice. The first recommendation was the creation of a Central Authority for the control of all forms of secondary education, if possible, under the presidency of a Minister of Education. In conjunction with the Central Authority, Local Boards were to be set up by the counties, the members being the chairmen of the Boards of Guardians together with half their number of Crown nominees. It was the Commissioners' belief that public interest in education was not sufficiently diffused nor intelligent enough to make a popularly elected body desirable. Still, as an alternative constitution, it was suggested that each of these Boards might be made up of one of H.M. Inspectors, Crown nominees and one or two members elected by the rate-payers. Such a body would, it was naively said, "put the schools into direct relation with the

¹ *Report*, vol. I. p. 314.

² *ibid.*, p. 318.

people." And this immediately after the passage of a second Reform Bill!

The Commission attached the first importance to an authoritative examination of the schools, "the pivot of all the improvements that we have recommended," and to supervise these examinations it proposed the institution of a Council of Examination, with a membership of Crown nominees as to one half, and of representatives of Oxford, Cambridge and London on the other. In a similar spirit, it proposed to secure a body of secondary teachers by the offer of certificates rather than by means of training colleges and the registration of teachers, two measures pressed upon their attention by schoolmasters themselves. The example of Prussia greatly impressed the Commission with reference to the administrative side of their problem.

During the session of the Taunton Commission, Scottish schools as a whole were investigated by a Commission presided over by the Duke of Argyll. The chief recommendation of the latter body was that administration should be consolidated; School Boards with jurisdiction over all grades of school education were in consequence instituted by the Education Act, Scotland, 1872.

The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, gave a partial effect to the judgment of the Taunton Commission; the title of the statute is significant in its exclusion of private and proprietary schools. The Act brought about great readjustments of educational charities and claimed for education other charities whose original objects had become obsolete in the course of centuries; it very considerably increased the facilities for secondary education. It appointed three Endowed Schools Commissioners with power to initiate schemes of management and organization for individual schools; a scheme which successfully ran the gauntlet of local petitioners, both Houses of Parliament, the Education Department and the Privy Council acquired the force of an Act of Parliament. Pupils were to be exempted from religious teaching on the written request of parent or guardian; and, in accordance with the opinion of the Commission, provision was to be made "as far as conveniently may be for extending to girls the benefits of endowments." In spite of friction and active opposition, the Endowed Schools Commissioners succeeded in getting 235 schemes, some of them very

contentious, passed into law before their functions reverted to the Charity Commission in 1874; in particular, the secondary education of girls greatly profited by this activity.

But the movement to promote the better education of girls and of women owed its inception to private initiative dating back to the early years of the Queen's reign. In 1843 the Governesses' Benevolent Institution was established to relieve the great number of women who had served as private governesses and were without means. The opening of an employment registry by the Institution revealed the fact that many women who were ready to undertake teaching were either very insufficiently, or even totally, unqualified for the work; it was therefore determined to institute an examination and to issue diplomas in order to discriminate between the fit and the unfit. The gratuitous co-operation of some of the professors of King's College, London, was secured in October, 1847. In the following year these examiners became teachers of classes, Queen's College, Harley Street, was founded, the Queen expressly permitting the use of the title and founding scholarships for its students. Frederick Denison Maurice, E. H. Plumptre, R. C. Trench and J. S. Brewer gave devoted service to the new venture, in which they were assisted by Charles Kingsley, a former student of King's College. Evening lectures were given without payment by these distinguished men to women engaged in teaching.

Queen's College opened a new life to me intellectually; to come in contact with the minds of such men was a new experience to me and most women. I was a member of the evening lectures at the outset. The writer is Frances Mary Buss, who with her fellow-student, Dorothea Beale, and other students of Queen's College, made the years following 1848 an epoch in girls' education.

In 1847, Mrs Reid started classes for girls in her own house and in 1849 opened Bedford Square College, which from the first was associated with University College, London. Its first teachers included such distinguished members of the staff of that College as Augustus De Morgan, Francis Newman and W. B. Carpenter; its first secretary was Harriet Martineau. From 1860 onwards the College was known as Bedford College for Women; it received a charter in 1869. Queen's College was chartered in 1853, the year in which the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, opened. While a student at Queen's College, Miss Buss conducted a private school, the

property of her father and herself; in 1850 she gave the school a semi-public standing by putting it under the superintendence of the clergy of St Pancras parish and calling it the North London Collegiate School for Ladies.

Miss Buss, Miss Beale (who became Principal of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, in 1858), the schools which they directed, Queen's College and Bedford College, were so many centres from which influence was exerted upon public opinion or on so much of it as gave attention to the up-bringing of girls. The women who actively shared in forming opinion on the subject kept two objects steadily before them, namely, the admission of girls to public examinations and the sound instruction and professional training of women who intended to become teachers. A small committee of ladies, with Miss Emily Davies as secretary, was formed in 1862; it sought permission for girls to take as an experiment the papers set in the Cambridge Local Examination. The test was so satisfactory in its positive results and, contrary to a belief widely held, so harmless in its effect upon the *moral* of the girl-examinees¹, that from 1865 onwards girls no less than boys were allowed to take the examination.

Miss Davies's committee next urged the claim of girls' education to be included in the survey undertaken by the Schools Inquiry Commission, and the request was granted with much good will. The Commission received evidence from Miss Davies, Miss Buss, Miss Beale and other ladies, and the Assistant Commissioners were directed to include girls' schools in their local inquiries. The following is the Commission's own summary of its discoveries in this field.

The general deficiency in girls' education is stated with the utmost confidence and with entire agreement, with whatever difference of words, by many witnesses of authority. Want of thoroughness and foundation; want of system; slovenliness and showy superficiality; inattention to rudiments; undue time given to accomplishments and those not taught intelligently or in any scientific manner; want of organisation—these may sufficiently indicate the character of the complaints we have received in their most general aspect. It is needless to observe that the same complaints apply to a great extent to boys' education. But on the whole the evidence is clear that, not as they might be but

¹ "People fancy that examinations are something very dreadful." Miss Beale to the Taunton Commission.

as they are, the girls' schools are inferior in this view to the boys' schools¹.

Miss Buss told the Commission in 1865 that "there are scarcely any good schools, there are very few good teachers, there is no motive offered to girls for study." Miss Beale deposed that girls' education was "defective to an extraordinary degree in the rudimentary parts²."

The ignorance and indifference of parents, the incompetence of teachers and the carelessness of the State conspired to bring about this depressing condition, which a few earnest women and still fewer men were resolute to alter for the better. The Assistant Commissioners of 1864-7 reported that the teachers themselves lacked education and that their teaching was dogmatic and mechanical, relying much upon rote. Reading, history and English exercises were best amongst girls' attainments; needlework, piano-playing and bodily exercises were showy, not sound. Mathematics, science and Latin, where they were attempted, were badly taught; French was as good as in boys' schools, but it was good in neither. Miss Buss had "no pupils sufficiently advanced to learn mathematics," and at Cheltenham Latin was rarely taught. Miss Beale's view is here very instructive. "German answers the purpose of Latin, inasmuch as it has a complicated grammar"; that is, the purpose of teaching either of these languages was to give "mental training" rather than positive knowledge. "Forming the mind" and similar phrases are constantly on the lips of individual Commissioners and their witnesses, feminine witnesses especially. This obsession by the thought of gymnastic meant a corresponding disregard of the value of knowledge as such, which made the discussion of curriculum, and particularly the place therein of modern studies, singularly empty. It excused a system under which girls never got beyond the Latin declensions and conjugations and were not expected to go further; the rote work made "excellent mental training," as one witness said.

In 1869 Cambridge established its Higher Local Examination for women over eighteen years of age. In the same year the University of London instituted an Examination for Women. To prepare women for the Higher Local Examination a course of lectures was opened at Cambridge in 1870; the residential hall for

¹ *Report*, vol. I. p. 548.

² *ibid.*, vol. V. Evidence Pt. II.

the students of this course became in 1880 Newnham College, of which Miss A. J. Clough was the first Principal. An earlier and a more ambitious enterprise was the college at Hitchin, started in 1869 by a committee, of which Emily Davies was a very active member, with the object of preparing women for the Cambridge degree courses. In 1870 a few of the Hitchin students were allowed informally to take the papers set for the Previous Examination; two years later three students took tripos examinations in like manner, two in classics, one in mathematics, all three passing. The College was removed to Girton in 1873, its first Mistress being Miss Davies.

The creation of good schools was the obvious remedy for the bad teaching and insufficient learning which, according to the Taunton Commission, too often characterized girls' schools. The measures taken in the Endowed Schools' Act to extend endowments to the education of girls were insufficient to satisfy the demand. Moreover the private school and the proprietary "college," which had done much for the education of boys, were congenial to the mind of a time which had no great love for officially controlled institutions. In 1871, on the initiative of Mrs Maria Grey, the friends of voluntarism formed the "National Union for the Improvement of the Education of Women of all Classes." The society's chief aims were to promote the establishment of good and cheap day schools for girls and to raise the status of women teachers by affording them a liberal education, a thorough training in the art of teaching, and authoritative recognition by means of a professional register. In order to attain these aims, the National Union in the following year formed the Girls' Public Day School Company. The North London Collegiate School for Girls had already (1871) become a publicly governed institution owing to the operation of the Endowed Schools Act. The curriculum and organization of that school became in a purely general sense the model for the Girls' High Schools which the Girls' Public Day School Company proceeded to set up in London and its suburbs, and, later, in the great towns.

The Company's object as stated by itself was "to supply for girls the best possible education corresponding with the education given to boys in the great public schools of the country." So far as that object can be gauged by a list of studies, the first High

Schools endeavoured to attain it by teaching the traditional subjects of the girls' school, English, history, geography, conversational French, arithmetic, music, drawing, needlework, religious knowledge. To these were added, chiefly as instruments of mental discipline, mathematics and Latin, or German as alternative to Latin. But the desire to teach girls all that was taught to boys, without surrendering studies hitherto regarded as necessary for girls in particular, threatened the schools with an overburdened curriculum or with a merely superficial acquirement. As the claims of science to be included in any scheme of liberal education were more generally understood, and the positive value of a study as knowledge came to be regarded as more important than its value, or supposed value, as a disciplinary agent, the teaching of branches of natural science occupied more and more of the time of girls' schools. The growing attention to questions of health and physical development which characterized the British public during the period 1850-70 made the introduction of physical training imperative in these schools. Head mistresses were therefore compelled to consider the congestion of studies; and the broader education which they themselves had received in the women's colleges, fortified by the professional spirit which always marked their activities, permitted a rapid working settlement of the problems involved in a manifold curriculum. Put briefly, the curriculum was made both manageable and more educative by recognizing a diversity of talents in the pupils and by grouping studies in accordance therewith, while retaining a common basis of subjects in the junior part of the school.

As compared with boys' schools, the High Schools were unfettered by tradition; and the keen interest which the mistresses took in the technical principles and aspects of their work helped them to realize the fact. Reforms in method and in curriculum were readily accepted. Manual work was honoured and mistresses were quicker than masters to see that there are other pupils requiring education than the severely intellectual or the academically-minded boy or girl. Similarly, problems of organization dependent upon this diversity of talent in children received consideration earlier in the High Schools than in boys' schools of corresponding standing. The rapid advance of girls' education is shown by the permission, accorded in 1876, for girls to take the examinations of

the Joint Board, which Oxford and Cambridge had formed three years earlier to conduct a leaving examination for first-grade boys' schools.

The expenditure of official and professional time and labour upon the apparatus of English education which marked the years from 1858 to 1870 would not have been fruitful nor indeed in any valid sense possible without the support of widespread public interest. In fact, the country was slowly and partially realizing some of its defects of policy and particularly its mistaken attitude towards knowledge and the advancement of knowledge. An indication of this interest is seen in the popularity attained by Herbert Spencer's *Education*, published in 1861. The book was at once a treatise on method, a powerful advocate of physical education, a most inconclusive argument in favour of moral training by a-moral means, and an elaborate, illogical but justifiable special plea for making the study of science the staple of formal education. Matthew Arnold, J. S. Mill, the writers of *Essays on a Liberal Education* (1867), and Thomas Huxley were better-informed and much more judicious friends of a reform in the curriculum of English schools. "The prime direct aim" of instruction, said Matthew Arnold, "is to enable a man to *know himself and the world*¹"; and for that purpose both literature (not philology) and science are indispensable studies. Mill in his Inaugural Address as Rector of St Andrews University (1867) insisted upon the high educational value of the old classical and the new scientific studies; it is merely stupid to think of them as competitors. The writers of the *Essays* see the studies necessary to a liberal education in literature, modern as well as ancient, and in natural science; theirs is the first professional advocacy—eight of the nine were teachers—of a humanism in education based upon the recognition of modern literature. Huxley lost no opportunity of telling Englishmen how inadequate to the time were the staple studies of their schools and universities. He treated the neglect of science in an address delivered in 1868 at the opening of the South London Working Men's College and afterwards published under the title *A liberal education and where to find it*. This address strikes a note very unfamiliar to its British contemporaries in the assertion of the doctrine "that the masses should be educated *because they are men and women*."

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission Report*, vol. VI. p. 592.

CHAPTER XVIII

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOUNDED

THE years between 1870 and 1903 witnessed a development of English public instruction which has no equal in our history; it affected education of all grades and was particularly, though not exclusively, marked in the sphere of administration. When the twentieth century opened, the country possessed the apparatus of a complete national system administered by local and central authorities, with a Minister of State at the head, who in fact though not in name held powers approximating to those of the Minister of Public Instruction in foreign governments. The legislation of 1902-3 which founded that system is, however, not a goal but a starting point. The machinery is there; the country has yet to decide for exactly what purposes and how best the machinery shall be employed; as witness the Act of 1918. The nation's failures and successes in the field of education have been made manifest by the course of the great war. With those lessons to instruct policy, and machinery at hand to give it effect, the greatest chapter in the history of British education lies in the future.

The story of Oxford and Cambridge during these thirty-three years is chiefly of a domestic kind. Earlier legislation was embodied in regulations and in practices which governed administration and teaching. Honours schools and triposes were changed by a process of subdivision which implied the deepening of studies. New schools and triposes, chiefly in languages, eastern as well as western, were created. The year 1897 was made memorable at Oxford by the institution of a separate "school" of English.

But the outstanding facts in the history of higher education were the creation of seven new universities, the further extension of university education amongst women and the popularization of some forms of university teaching beyond the walls of the

universities themselves. These three movements exhibit a certain measure of interdependence. The steps taken to further women's education co-operated with the movement known as University Extension, which in turn helped to institute, or to affect the curriculum of, "the university colleges," the original form of some of the new universities. As these last set up no sex-barrier they were instrumental in extending university education amongst women.

The long discussion inside and outside Parliament which preceded the passing of the Act of 1870 created a ferment of activity by no means confined to elementary education. Not women only but municipalities and work-people were stimulated by it in their several ways; without precisely combining forces, these different influences converged and took shape as university colleges, women's colleges and University Extension. The germ of "Extension" lay in the extra-mural lectures to women given as early as 1847 by certain professors of King's College, London, and in Mrs Reid's classes which laid the foundation of Bedford College. In 1865, Miss A. J. Clough suggested that groups of neighbouring towns, or those of their inhabitants who were interested, should ask Oxford and Cambridge to send lecturers, who would deliver short courses to women teachers and senior school-girls. The suggestion led in 1867 to the formation of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, of which Mrs Josephine Butler and Miss Clough were respectively president and secretary. James Stuart, afterwards professor of mechanism at Cambridge, gave the first course of lectures in Liverpool, Miss Clough's native place, his subject being natural philosophy. The course was repeated in the same year at Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield; similar courses were also delivered to audiences of work-people and members of co-operative societies at Crewe and Rochdale. In all, about 2000 persons had followed the lectures. By 1871 the movement had secured a hold upon certain Midland towns, Nottingham being particularly active in its support. In the following year a memorial was addressed to the University of Cambridge by municipalities, industrial societies, mechanics' institutes and Miss Clough's Council, asking for the permanent installation of the scheme. The University consented and in 1873 formally instituted University Extension by arranging for the delivery of lectures at Nottingham, Derby and Leicester. The London Society for the Extension of University

Teaching followed in 1876, and the Oxford lectures in 1878. The courses were literary, historical and philosophical as well as scientific; tutorial classes, essay-writing and examination were systematically associated with the lectures. Not only the British universities but also universities in the Dominions overseas, in the United States of America and on the Continent subsequently adopted the scheme of Extension.

The comparatively early failure of the Mechanics' Institutes to maintain a hold upon manual workers, the popular desire for education which usually accompanies a time of political unrest and change, and the specific activities of the Christian Socialists combined to bring about the foundation in 1854 by Frederick Denison Maurice of the Working Men's College, London. The title, *College*, was used to emphasize the close relation established between the pupils and the university men who taught them; it also distinguished between the occasional lectures and courses of the Mechanics' Institutes, then somewhat moribund, and its own definitely educative plan of study. The course comprised mathematics, language and literature, history, physical science; John Ruskin supervised the teaching of drawing and painting. The purpose which animated Maurice, the first Principal, and his distinguished colleagues was thus set forth in the prospectus of 1865.

The students are for the most part working men; and the teachers are in general members of the Universities and of different professions, or those who have themselves been students of the College. Its purpose was and is to unite these classes together by associating them in the common work of teaching and learning. It provides instruction at the smallest possible cost (the teaching being almost wholly unpaid) in the subjects with which it concerns English citizens to be acquainted, and thus tries to place a liberal education within the reach of working men.

The mutual understanding brought about by the College and by the later movement which originated Toynbee Hall and the University Settlements has had a great, albeit inconspicuous, influence in moulding the relations between different social classes in this country.

So far as method is concerned, the Workers' Educational Association, founded in 1904, may be regarded as an offshoot of University Extension; the University Tutorial Classes, through which the Association works, adopt the scheme of lecture, or

lesson by the tutor, discussion and essay writing. But this Association of working men and women derives its origin, driving power and purposes from the trade unions and co-operative societies, the latter from the early days of their history having included the encouragement of adult education in their settled policy. Oxford formally approved the objects and method of the Association in October, 1908; since that date the universities and university colleges throughout the country have assisted by providing tutors, and financial assistance has been given by the Board of Education and by some of the Local Education Authorities. Economics and economic history are staple studies in most of the classes; but English history and literature, political science and the study of political institutions are sometimes included in the work of particular classes. There is a notable neglect by the Association of natural science and of the severer forms of study, a neglect which is not compensated by the attention given to less exact and less exacting branches of knowledge.

Within the period upon which we have now entered, the various arrangements which, for the time being, had sufficed for the instruction and examination of women in universities, proved to be merely provisional. It became clear that an advance was possible. The University of London by means of a supplemental charter, obtained in 1878, threw open all its degree examinations to women; in 1881 women were admissible to all the Cambridge triposes. Oxford in 1884 admitted women to the examinations for Honours Moderations and the Honours Schools in Mathematics, Science and Modern History. In 1892 the Scottish universities were empowered to admit women to degrees. Durham opened its degrees in 1895; but attempts made at Oxford in 1896 and at Cambridge in 1897 to secure the admission of women to degrees were defeated.

Lecture courses and classes, the outcome of purely private efforts, had been started at Oxford as early as 1865 in preparation for such examinations of the University as were then open to women or which seemed likely to become accessible. With that object in view, all these efforts were merged in 1878 in the Oxford Association for the Education of Women, a body which at first took informal charge of all arrangements made for the teaching of women, but which from 1893 onwards was the recognized official

body controlling the instruction, studies, discipline and organization of Oxford women students. Somerville Hall ("College" from 1894) and Lady Margaret Hall were founded in 1879; and two smaller Halls, St Hugh's and St Hilda's, followed in 1886 and 1893 respectively. Somerville is undenominational; Lady Margaret and its sister, St Hugh's, are associated with the Church of England. St Hilda's Hall is the creation of Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham. The project of a women's university was incorporated in Thomas Holloway's foundation at Egham, the Royal Holloway College (1886), but the project lacked support and the College became a "School" of the University of London when the latter resumed its office of teaching. Westfield College, Hampstead, opened in 1882, is another women's college similarly connected with that University.

A variety of causes gave rise in the "seventies" and "eighties" to the local university colleges which became the parents of new universities in the first decade of the twentieth century. The general movement which made the Act of 1870 possible still retained momentum. A wider recognition of the industrial importance of applied science and a growing consciousness of the defects of English education fostered the belief in the need for the creation of colleges of applied science and technology in the great industrial centres. The demands of women for higher education and of some municipal bodies and working-class communities for access to avenues of culture, tended to liberalize the more utilitarian claims of the other movement. Hartley College, Southampton (1859), and the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (1872) were the creations of a somewhat different set of motives. The latter was the outcome of a very remarkable popular desire for the institution of a place of higher education upon Welsh soil; it owed its existence to the pence of the poor as well as to the pounds of the well-to-do.

The movement creating "university colleges" in the restricted sense may be dated from 1871, when the previously existing College of Physical Science at Newcastle-on-Tyne was affiliated to Durham University under the name of the College of Science; the sister College of Medicine had been associated with the University since 1852. The University Extension movement called into being Firth College, Sheffield, 1879 (Sheffield University College, 1897) and University Colleges at Nottingham (1881), Reading (1892),

Exeter (1893) and Colchester (1896). Industrial and civic aspirations founded similar colleges at Bristol (1876), Birmingham (Mason College, 1880), Liverpool (1882), Cardiff (1883) and Bangor (1884). In 1889 the House of Commons decided to distribute annually amongst the university colleges, including University and King's Colleges, London, Bedford College and Owens College, a grant of £15,000 (increased to twice that sum later) on condition that the colleges performed "an appreciable amount of advanced University work," a phrase usually understood to mean a satisfactory ratio between "post-graduate" and under-graduate courses of study.

Manchester led the way in advancing the colleges to substantive university rank; the Victoria University of Manchester was created in 1880; Liverpool was federated in this university in 1884, Leeds in 1887. The same unsatisfactory organization was repeated in 1893 by the federation of the Colleges at Aberystwyth, Cardiff and Bangor in the University of Wales. On the other hand, the Victoria federation broke up into the three entirely distinct and independent universities of Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds, the first two dating their new charters from 1903 and Leeds from the following year. The colleges at Birmingham, Sheffield and Bristol became universities in 1900, 1905 and 1909 respectively; the process of conversion is only suspended in some other instances. The success of these local universities has been greatest where they have associated themselves most closely with the local life and its special needs, and have frankly accepted the ideal of developing each in its own way without too great deference to ancient academic tradition.

The London University Commission Act of 1898, which empowered commissioners to make new statutes for that University, closed for a time at least an agitation which had lasted for some twenty years. The restriction, which from the year 1858 confined the duty of the University to conducting examinations, was most unhappy in its effect upon the higher education of London. The Colleges and the Medical Schools lost the stimulus of a central controlling body; no machinery existed to organize their teaching and to prevent duplication of effort. University and King's Colleges tended each to become in effect a separate and insufficiently equipped university, paying little heed, if any, to its sister

College. The University made no sufficient provision for advancing knowledge, its examinations failed to keep touch with the teaching which was being given in London, the syllabuses of examination were obsolescent and the examinations, conducted by distinguished men who only in the minority of cases ever met their examinees in the flesh, were not infrequently "in the air," so to say. As years went on, the disposition increased on the part of the London colleges to disregard the examinations and to abandon them to the provincial university colleges and to private students who were members of no university institution. Royal Commissions which reported in 1889 and 1892 failed to find a solution; the suggestion of a second university with full powers to teach and examine, leaving the University in possession to examine all comers irrespective of their place of education, was effectively resisted by the representatives of the University in Senate and Convocation. The new statutes which reconstituted the University in the year 1900 were an obvious compromise. The Senate was constituted by persons who represented the Internal, or teaching, side and the External, or purely examining function; and this fundamental division was carried, wherever possible, into all parts of the administration. A committee of the Senate, the Academic Council, presided over the affairs of the teachers and actual students; a second committee, the External Council, performed the same office for the "External students," those persons whose only connexion with the University lay in the examinations. From the 1st of January, 1907, University College was incorporated with the University; the incorporation of King's College took effect exactly three years later. The thirty-two "Schools" of the University and the twenty-eight institutions which have recognized university teachers on their staffs retain a large measure of autonomy, each under its governing body; the Senate governs directly the two incorporated colleges, certain specialized departments and Goldsmiths' College. The compromise of 1898-1900 did not work very well and in consequence a Royal Commission was appointed in 1910 under the presidency of Lord Haldane. The drastic recommendations of that body, which reported in 1913, aroused acute controversy which was still being waged at the outbreak of war in 1914.

In the years immediately following the legislation of 1870

public activity was naturally centred upon the provision of elementary schools. But as the shortage in buildings was reduced, greater attention was paid to the character of the instruction which public elementary schools were giving. Dissatisfaction with the system of payment by results grew year by year and the meagre curriculum fostered by that system was regarded as a reproach which challenged removal. As early as 1867 the schools were offered grants for the teaching of geography, history, English grammar; by 1871 to these optional studies were added mathematics, certain branches of natural sciences, Latin, French, German, English literature and political economy. The list is instructive as exhibiting the shortcomings of English *secondary* education at that date; but the number of elementary school pupils who took advantage of these options was small, though steadily growing. In 1875, the Code definitely recognized the composite character of the English elementary school as distinguished from the primary school of most continental countries. The curriculum was, in effect, both primary and, as regarded certain individual pupils, secondary also. All the pupils were to be taught and individually examined in reading, writing, arithmetic and, in the case of girls, in needlework; grammar, geography and history were grouped as "class subjects," any two of which might be taught above the First Standard (*i.e.* the lowest class) throughout the school, the instruction and examination for grants being by classes and not by individual pupils. These may be regarded as primary school studies. There were also "specific subjects," in which teaching and examination were individual, which might be taught to selected pupils in the two highest Standards, the Fifth and Sixth. These studies were in character, if not in scope, distinctly secondary; they included mathematics, foreign languages, science and domestic economy. English literature, singing, drawing and cookery were added later. The Code of 1882 by instituting an additional school class, the Seventh Standard, in which pupils might be examined for grants, gave evidence to the lengthening of school life and the enlargement of its opportunities.

The wide-spread but somewhat desultory interest in public education manifested in earlier years was now better informed and ready to concentrate upon very definite problems; what was happening in elementary schools was a particular but conspicuous

instance of a general movement. From 1880 to 1884 a Royal Commission on Technical Instruction was in session; its report recommended that technical teaching should receive support from local rates. The Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act combined to place teaching of this kind under the supervision of the County Councils (recently created by the Local Government Act of 1888), to empower these bodies to aid technical instruction by a rate and, for the purposes of such instruction, to hand over the whole, or part, of the sum, commonly called "the whiskey money," which was annually allotted to localities out of the Customs and Excise duties.

It was in this connexion that the County Councils made their first essay in educational administration. The results of their action in the sphere of secondary instruction were set forth in the Report of the Bryce Commission of 1895.

An immense impulse has thus been given to technical education, and as that term has been extended to cover the whole field of mathematical and physical science, as well as modern languages and some departments of geography, while the grants have frequently been made even to schools giving a general liberal education, this impulse has been felt in many branches of secondary instruction, sometimes, no doubt, to the comparative injury of those branches which were too purely literary to be brought within even the widest interpretation of the term *technical*. (*Report*, vol. I. p. 13.)

Indeed, that elastic term was in the end made to cover well-nigh every subject of study, Latin and Greek excepted.

In 1886 a Royal Commission, named after its chairman, Sir R. A. Cross (afterwards Lord Cross), was appointed to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales; it reported in 1888. On certain controversial subjects the Cross Commission was unable to reach unanimous conclusions. Sixty-nine *per cent.* of the public elementary schools, containing over fifty-six *per cent.* of the pupils, were denominational; they complained of the "intolerable financial strain" which oppressed them on account of the competition of their wealthier rivals, the Board schools. There was an influential body of opinion which would entirely do away with the voluntary system in favour of universal Board schools. The majority of the Commissioners on the other hand recommended that the voluntary schools should be

aided from local rates, that school fees paid by the parents should continue to be paid in both kinds of school and that the limit of seventeen shillings and sixpence per pupil, which was set to the amount of Government grant payable, should be removed. Rate-aid was extended to the denominational schools by the Education Acts of 1902-3; but "free education," that is, the abolition of school fees in public elementary schools, became well-nigh universal from the year 1891, when a "fee grant" in compensation for the surrendered fees was offered by Parliament to all elementary schools. While not prepared to advocate the repeal of "payment by results," the Commissioners were unanimous in thinking that the system "is carried too far and is too rigidly applied and that it ought to be modified and relaxed in the interests equally of the scholars, of the teachers and of education itself¹." However, the system was abandoned in favour of block grants and inspection in 1890; the teaching, the buildings and the management became the objects of the inspectors' scrutiny, examination of individual pupils being given up.

The Commission recommended that greater freedom should be accorded to the schools in classifying pupils for different studies than had been the practice hitherto, or than the rigid employment of the "standards" encouraged. The essential studies of the elementary school were, in the Commissioners' opinion,

reading, writing, arithmetic, needlework for girls, linear drawing for boys, singing, English, so as to give the children an adequate knowledge of their mother tongue, English history through reading books, geography, especially of the British Empire, lessons on common objects in the lower standards, leading up to elementary science in the higher².

The last is a reminder of the quite inadequate attention paid to science in all grades of English education and of the earlier animadversions of the Technical Education Commission. Seven years later, the Bryce Report singled out the inefficient teaching of science as a very general defect in secondary education.

The omission of handwork other than needlework and drawing from the Commission's "essential subjects" will be remarked. Yet their curriculum forms a contrast with that prescribed by the Conscience Clause of 1839, the instrument which laid down the

¹ *Final Report*, p. 183.

² *ibid.*, p. 146.

conditions to be satisfied when a particular school applied for the Government grant. This instrument required that the Bible should be read daily and that, as a minimum, the school should teach reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and, in the case of girls, needlework.

A sign of this liberalizing spirit is also seen in the attitude of the Commission towards the education and professional training of teachers for service in elementary schools. The majority were of opinion that as an experiment a limited number of students might be educated and trained for this purpose, not as heretofore in special institutions, but in such university colleges as were prepared both to educate and to train professionally students of this particular kind. The experiment was already being tried under unsatisfactory conditions in the Yorkshire College, Leeds and elsewhere. While the majority of the Commissioners and the officials of the Education Department were not more than lukewarm in supporting the scheme, the minority complained of the "grudging and restricted" spirit in which it was treated, and expressed the opinion that the training of teachers for elementary schools "in connexion with places of higher education deserves a much heartier support¹." The officials and most of the Commissioners showed want of perspicacity in considering the matter; they believed that, while students of a more advanced education than that possessed by the average training college student would be attracted to the university colleges for further education and professional training, these men and women, when trained, would take the lower positions on the school staffs usually assigned to teachers who were without any college training. The point, in their view, was one of machinery only. The minority, which included those Commissioners who had the closer personal knowledge of schools and teachers, saw in the proposal a scheme which would tend to liberalize the education of the teaching profession at large and so raise the level of instruction in the schools. The expressly undenominational character of the university colleges was in their eyes a further and an important advantage of the scheme.

In 1890 the Code instituted "day training colleges" (a somewhat unhappy title employed before that date by the Birmingham School Board and by a well-known London private tutor) at the

¹ *Final Report*, p. 243.

universities and university colleges, where "students in training" received their academic education in common with other pupils, and their professional instruction in a separate department. The result has justified the minority report of the Cross Commission. Every British university to-day has its Department of Education in which teachers are trained for work in elementary and secondary schools, and the study of Education, as an independent body of knowledge, is pursued.

The growing consciousness of defect in the national education was deepened by the Report of the Technical Instruction Commission (1884), by the extraordinary expansion of German commerce and industry which had become conspicuous at the opening of the reign of Wilhelm II and above all by the advances in pure and applied science. The feeling of dissatisfaction applied to all grades of instruction, but was of course greatest where the provision was least, that is, in technical and secondary teaching. The School Boards of the great cities and industrial centres, when they had got elementary education well in hand, turned to the higher grades of instruction, of which, failing express organization, they regarded themselves as the natural guardians. In that opinion they were supported by the Education Department. Some of the School Boards employed itinerant teachers of science; at Sheffield there was a "higher central school" for the Sixth and Seventh Standards, admission to which was competitive; the course of studies included machine drawing and construction, mechanics, physics, chemistry, drawing. Birmingham possessed a similar school with a three years' course and a similar curriculum; during the first year, the pupils were Seventh Standard scholars earning grants from the Education Department, and for the rest of the course they became students earning grants on examination from the Science and Art Department. This procedure seems to have been adopted by other School Boards also in financing and managing schools of this type. There were "Higher Grade or Higher Elementary" Schools under the School Boards of Manchester, London, Sheffield, Stafford and other towns; in all cases, the curriculum was both primary and secondary, sometimes also technical.

Notwithstanding the support of the Government Departments in Whitehall and South Kensington, there was some doubt as to

the legality of this extension of the School Boards' functions. It had indeed been officially challenged by the Local Government Board's auditor, who, when the London School Board started a class in carpentry, surcharged members with the cost of the wood. Matthew Arnold and some of his fellow-inspectors, when before the Cross Commission, deprecated the extension as tending to hinder the proper organization of true secondary education, of which the country stood in urgent need. The Final Report of that Commission definitely raised the issue.

We cannot fail to point out that the evidence laid before the Commission proves that the meaning and limits of the word *elementary* have not been defined in the Acts of 1870, 1873, 1876, nor by any judicial or authoritative interpretations, but that the meaning and limits of the word depend only upon the discretion of the Committees of Council, of successive Ministries and upon the various Codes published by them.

As a consequence, "not a few children of the wealthier class are already attending board schools."

So ingrained was the conception of elementary instruction as a public charity, that the Commissioners almost failed to note the confusion of school organization involved in these activities of the Boards, but were aroused by what seemed to them to be a misuse of public money.

It would appear therefore of absolute necessity that the instruction to be paid for out of the rates and taxes should be fixed by the Legislature. Until this is done the limits of primary and secondary education cannot be defined. (*Final Report*, p. 145.)

The really serious consequence of the uncertainty lay, as this passage hints, in the administrative confusion which it bred, and in the vague conception of secondary education entertained by the public in general.

The ancient grammar schools and those newly founded, or refounded, under schemes of the Endowed Schools Commission and the Charity Commission embodied one conception. Of these schools, the newer at least taught modern subjects, literary as well as scientific, but non-technical. The teachers were usually men and women who had themselves received in secondary schools an education which in kind was similar to that which they were now imparting. The school fees had been fixed by the official schemes at a comparatively low amount which left little or no margin to

meet the cost of new ventures. On the other hand, the School Boards had easy access to the rates. The teachers in their higher grade schools were almost invariably drawn from the elementary schools; they taught large classes on the lines of what, in the majority of cases, might be termed the elementary school tradition. The large classes and access to the rates made it possible to undersell the secondary school strictly so called. The curriculum, drawn up with an eye to earning the grants paid by the Science and Art Department to Organized Science Schools and classes, neglected the "humane" studies, ancient and modern; and in this respect, the secondary schools followed their example. In many parts of the country there was a very real danger that the teaching of the humanities would disappear. The grants made by the Technical Education Committees of County Councils enabled many of the secondary schools to keep going, but at the price of wasteful overlapping in administration.

Wales escaped from this welter through the provisions of its Intermediate Education Act of 1889, the culmination of a movement which had filled the preceding decade. In the counties and county boroughs of Wales and Monmouthshire the drafting of schemes for the conduct of Intermediate Schools was delegated to Joint Education Committees, through whom rates might be levied and local educational endowments applied to the use of these schools, and to whom Treasury grants were also open. The distinctive name of these Welsh secondary schools placed them midway between the public elementary schools and the three Welsh university colleges. They were to be undenominational; their curriculum was to comprise languages, ancient and modern, including the mother-tongue, mathematics and natural science. They were largely recruited from the abler pupils of the elementary schools. By the year 1893, Wales possessed a national system of education, primary, secondary and university, with these three stages linked together by a scholarship scheme so extensive that no boy or girl capable of profiting from advanced teaching was without the means of obtaining it.

In the meantime, the want of organization in England was becoming more marked in its effects. The voluntary system of elementary education was strained to the breaking point under the increasing demands made upon it by public opinion and the

ivalry of the Board Schools. Hostility to denominational schools increased. The one-sidedness of curriculum fostered by public bodies was so evident that the Science and Art Department in 1895 felt compelled to require some literary or commercial teaching in its Organized Science Schools. Except in the case of the active and wealthy School Boards, public aid to secondary education was, owing to the state of the law, confined to existing institutions. Yet, in consequence of the shifting of population or the purely local feeling of ancient founders, those institutions were often situated where they were least required and absent where they were most needed. In any case, their number was far too small to satisfy the wants of the country as a whole, particularly in respect of second and third grade schools with a leaving age of sixteen or fourteen.

The chaos reigning in English public education is sketched by the Bryce Report.

Each has remained in its working isolated and unconnected with the rest. . . . The Charity Commissioners have had little to do with the Education Department and still less with the Science and Art Department. Even borough councils have to a large extent acted independently of the school boards, and have in some instances made their technical instruction grants with too little regard to the parallel grants which were being made by the Science and Art Department. Endowments which, because applied to elementary education, were exempted from the operation of the Endowed Schools Acts, have been left still exempt; though the public provision of elementary education in 1870 and the grant of universal free elementary education in 1891 have wholly altered their position. The University Colleges, though their growth is one of the most striking and hopeful features of the last thirty years, remain without any regular organic relation either to elementary or to secondary education, either to school boards or to county councils. This isolation and this independence, if they may seem to witness to the rich variety of our educational life, and to the active spirit which pervades it, will nevertheless prepare the observer to expect the usual results of dispersed and unconnected forces, needless competition between the different agencies, and a frequent overlapping of effort, with much consequent waste of money, of time and of labour. (*Report*, vol. 1. p. 17.)

The advance in popular education is reflected in the fortunes of the Evening Schools which, beginning as purely primary schools in the last years of the eighteenth century, had some claim to be

regarded as secondary a hundred years later. The first evening schools were carried on by private teachers as substitutes for, or supplementary to, elementary day schools; somewhat later came the Ragged Schools conducted by charitable societies for the benefit of the very poor. It was not till 1855 that evening schools received the official recognition implied in the payment of a Government grant. The Newcastle Commission attached considerable importance to these schools, and was disposed to favour the suggestion that, as a satisfactory mode of instructing children of the labouring classes, pupils who left the day school at eleven years of age (that is, the majority of the pupils) to go to work, should continue their education in evening schools after that age. The Education Act of 1870 made these schools a definite part of the machinery of public elementary instruction, their earlier function being to afford "refresher" courses to children whose hold was feeble on what had been learned in the day school, and to instruct boys and girls who had failed to attend day schools, bye-laws notwithstanding. But the Cross Commission noted that these schools were falling into decay. Whereas the number of pupils in average attendance was 73,375 in 1870, in 1886 it was 30,584. The fact seems to testify to the increased efficiency of the day school, since witnesses agreed that the rule which compelled the evening scholar to pass a standard examination in the three R's was vexatious, unnecessary and an obstacle to giving instruction which the scholars themselves desired. While some would still employ the schools for "refresher" teaching in the elements, others would give forms of "useful" knowledge free from the "Standards" and yet others would make the schools "continuation" schools giving an instruction based upon the elementary curriculum and continued beyond it. We have here a reflection of the problem which was confusing educational administration generally at that time, the nature and respective limits of primary, secondary and technical education. It is interesting to note that there were those who would make attendance at evening schools compulsory.

The Code of 1890 decided that the principal part of the education given in evening schools "need not be elementary"; three years later, these schools were officially termed "Evening Continuation Schools" and as such were administered (as they still are) by means of a separate Code. In their new *status* the schools

were largely supported by the Technical Instruction Committees of the County Councils and by the Science and Art Department. The Bryce Commission, which recognized their "definite position in the national organization of education", noted their tendency to become less elementary in character and to attract older pupils; "they are to the adult artisan in many respects what the university extension movement has usually been to the middle class" (*Report*, vol. I. p. 55). The Education Act of 1902 removed these schools from the category of elementary schools.

It was in the confusion of aims and of efforts already imperfectly described that Mr James Bryce (afterwards Lord Bryce) was called on to preside over a Royal Commission

to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of Secondary Education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies, and having regard to such local sources of revenue from endowment or otherwise as are available or may be made available for this purpose, and to make recommendations accordingly.

The mandate was given in March, 1894, and the Commission reported in August, 1895. The *personnel* of the Commission was remarkable in that it included practising teachers, elementary and secondary, and women, of whom Mrs Sophie Bryant and Mrs E. M. Sidgwick were conspicuous in advancing the education of girls and of women. Exhaustive inquiry was made into the existing English administration and assistance was sought from the Dominions, from the United States of America and from most of the European Governments.

The Commission debated at length the central question of the situation, namely, What is secondary education? It reviewed earlier answers, only to find them unsatisfactory when scrutinized in the light of what had happened in public education since 1870. The creation of new types of school and of places of higher instruction, the great increase in the number of school studies and the lengthening of the duration of school life in all grades had rendered obsolete such definitions of secondary education as that which was "not technical," or was pursued between the ages of fourteen and sixteen or nineteen, or belonged neither to the elementary nor to the university stage. Any attempt to distinguish secondary education by a social reference was nugatory, seeing that former Board School pupils, owing to the operation of the recently

instituted scholarship schemes, were found in schools admittedly secondary and at Oxford and Cambridge, while the Board Schools themselves could not be confined to any social class or classes.

In particular, the Commission found it not feasible to draw a strict line between "secondary" and "technical," between studies which discipline and cultivate, and those which instruct in practical arts and sciences.

All education is development and discipline of faculty by the communication of knowledge, and whether the faculty be the eye and hand, or the reason and imagination, and whether the knowledge be of nature or art, of science or literature, if the knowledge be so communicated as to evoke and exercise and discipline faculty, the process is rightly termed education. Now Secondary Education may be described as a modification of this general idea. It is the education of the boy or girl not simply as a human being who needs to be instructed in the mere rudiments of knowledge, but it is a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed. . . . All secondary schools then, in so far as they qualify men for doing something in life, partake more or less in the character of institutes that educate craftsmen. Every profession, even that of winning scholarships, is a craft, and all crafts are arts. But if Secondary Education be so conceived, it is evident that under it technical instruction is comprehended. The two are not indeed identical, but they differ as genus and species . . . not as genus and genus or as opposed terms. . . . Technical instruction is secondary, *i.e.* it comes after the education which has awakened the mind by teaching the child the rudiments, or, as it were, the alphabet of all knowledge. . . . And secondary instruction is technical, *i.e.* it teaches the boy so to apply the principles he is learning, and so to learn the principles by applying them, or so to use the instruments he is being made to know, as to perform or produce something, interpret a literature or a science, make a picture or a book, practise a plastic or a manual art, convince a jury or persuade a senate, translate or annotate an author, dye wool, weave cloth, design or construct a machine, navigate a ship or command an army. Secondary Education, therefore, as inclusive of technical, may be described as education conducted in view of the special life that has to be lived with the express purpose of forming a person fit to live it¹.

The Bryce Commission was appointed to advise on the establishment of a well-organized system of secondary education. Its principal recommendations on that head were as follows. A

¹ *Report*, vol. I. 1895. The whole passage should be consulted; see pp. 130 ff. and 284-5.

Ministry of Education should be created and all the various departments of government concerned with secondary education should be concentrated in one Central Authority under the Minister. An advisory body, the Educational Council, consisting of "persons conversant with education and holding an independent position" would assist the Minister in matters of general principle and in special cases of appeal; this Council was also to institute and keep a register of teachers, a measure which had been a professional aspiration for half a century since the College of Preceptors first mooted it.

The Commissioners expressly declared that their policy was one of decentralization¹; "little direct executive power" was to be entrusted to the Central Authority, whose functions were to stimulate, guide, supply information and hold the balance between conflicting interests. The executive powers were the Local Education Authorities which the Commission would create in all counties and county boroughs, to provide and maintain secondary instruction within their respective areas, and to initiate schemes for their secondary schools. This last recommendation was made as a provision against an inelastic uniformity such as it might be feared a central office would seek to impose. But the Central Authority created by the Act of 1899, *viz.* the Board of Education, did in fact lay down a common scheme of studies and the recommendation was ignored. By that Act the Education Department, the Science and Art Department and the Charity Commission, in so far as it dealt with education, were combined in the Board of Education under the President, who was virtually Minister of Public Instruction after the pattern desired by Roebuck and his friends nearly seventy years earlier. The Board of Education Act, which came into operation in 1900, also brought about the appointment of a Consultative Committee of eighteen persons, men and women, with duties similar to those of the Educational Council recommended by the Bryce Report. Another recommendation of that Report, that the Central Authority should "supply information," received effect in 1895 by the institution of an office of Special Inquiries and Reports as part of the Education Department. Under its first Director, Mr M. E. Sadler, this office published a

valuable series of volumes on British and foreign education which did much to inform opinion, public and professional.

The decentralizing policy of the Bryce Commission found its chief agent in those local education authorities which had no true counterparts in England in the year 1900, when the administration by School Boards, Technical Education Committees and the rest remained in the state of confusion already described. In that year, the competence of School Boards to maintain out of the rates instruction not sanctioned by the Code was challenged by the managers of a School of Art in North London. The challenge was directed to expenditure incurred by the London School Board in respect of instruction in science and art. It was justified by the action of the Local Government Board auditor, Mr Cockerton, who surcharged the School Board with the amounts to which exception had been taken. On appeal to the Law Courts (1900 and 1901), the auditor's action was upheld, the so-called "Cockerton Judgment" deciding that any expenditure of rates by the School Board upon teaching outside the limits of the Code or upon instruction of adults was illegal. A situation equally embarrassing to the School Boards, the Science and Art Department and the Education Department was temporarily relieved by Acts passed in 1901, 1902, which gave power to county councils and county borough councils, the bodies which directly levied rates, to condone such expenditure for the time being.

This illustration of administrative topsy-turvydom occurred at a time when a break-up of the voluntary system in elementary education seemed imminent. Not a few voluntary schools had collapsed under the financial burden imposed by the increased cost of instruction and the attempt to keep pace with the great wealthy School Boards. Since the great majority of the voluntary schools were under the management of the Church of England, while the undenominationalism of the Board Schools commended the latter to great numbers of Nonconformists, the position invited a revival of the "religious controversy" whose fires had only smouldered since 1870. The Nonconformist complaints centred about the very limited opportunities which men and women, not being members of the Church of England, could find of entering the profession of teaching either as pupil-teachers or as students in training colleges. In many rural districts the only

school available was a Church of England School. It was true that in almost all cases the conscience clause of 1870 was a real safeguard against proselytism and, further, that the position was explicable on historical grounds. The State in the past had evaded the religious difficulty and spared its pocket by allowing voluntary effort to grapple with the task of national education. Yet it is not wonderful that, in a land where the popularly elected undenominational "Board" outnumbered every other type of education authority, the Church school in the "single school area" should be regarded by Nonconformists as a privilege accorded to one body of citizens and a disqualification laid upon themselves in consequence of their religious beliefs. But, apart from the sympathy with the Church traditionally felt by the Government then in power, no Government could lightly undertake the expense, said to be some twenty-six million pounds, of replacing the voluntary schools by universal board schools. Notwithstanding long and bitter opposition in the Commons, Mr A. J. Balfour persisted in the policy of maintaining the voluntary system, so far as giving it rate-aid would effect that purpose.

It was impossible to confine legislation to any one grade of education and the Education Act of 1902 virtually created a national system including all grades. The Central Authority recommended by the Bryce Commission already existed, though by no means in a form strictly consonant with the Commission's ideas. The new Act did away with School Boards, School Attendance Committees, Technical Instruction Committees, and laid upon the County Councils and County Borough Councils the office (to be exercised through committees) of Local Education Authorities for elementary, secondary and technical education within their respective areas. The unity of the scheme was broken by a compromise which, setting logic aside, gave jurisdiction over elementary education only to the councils of non-county boroughs having a population of over 10,000 and of urban districts where the population exceeded 20,000. The Local Education Authorities by virtue of their power to aid, supply and co-ordinate education and especially by the power to make grants and provide scholarships, exhibitions and fees, established considerable power over university colleges and universities other than Oxford and Cambridge. In short, their authority extended over the whole field of public education, the

non-local Public Schools excepted. Board schools and schools subsequently created by the Local Education Authorities were to be known as "provided schools." The voluntary or "non-provided" schools were to be aided in respect of "secular" instruction from the rates equally with the provided schools, but no subvention could be made in aid of religious teaching. The management of the non-provided schools was vested in managing bodies on which the Local Education Authority was represented by a minority of votes; but this minority represented the power of the purse.

Neither side to this quarrel seems to have possessed foresight of the result. Both sides were disposed to regard the Act of 1902, and its fellow of 1903 which applied its provisions to London, as a triumph for the voluntary system. When the Liberal party came to power in 1906, it made attempts by legislation, which were defeated, and by the administration of the Board of Education, which was successful so far as it went, to overthrow or to mitigate the consequences of the Act of 1902. But that Act in effect deprived the voluntary schools of their independence, furnished the Local Education Authorities with a number of schools, which were in building and equipment almost invariably below the level of the provided schools, and allowed the denominational managing body to use those buildings for religious teaching under the conscience clause. These measures created a gap between the non-provided schools and the denominations that supported them, which became wider with the years, so that the voluntary system, to which English education was incalculably indebted for a hundred years, was moribund in the early twentieth century.

Throughout the long period during which the country slowly built a national system of education, attention was not unnaturally absorbed in schemes of administration and in making machinery to give those schemes effect. Even a strict individualist like Edward Thring (1821-1887) may be cited in evidence of the part then played by the externals of education. He became master of Uppingham in 1853, when the school numbered sixty-one boys, taught, as in the days of Elizabeth, in a single school-building by a master and usher, to whom later times had added an assistant master and a "writing instructor." Within fifteen or sixteen years, the school of over three hundred boys had won a recognized place

amongst English public schools, equipped with buildings, boarding houses, chapel, playing fields, gymnasium and carpenter's shop, these last two being novelties in school-planning at that time. Thring's success is to be explained, like Arnold's at Rugby, by force of character; but something must be attributed directly to the means employed through which the character expressed itself. He claimed for all schools of its kind an absolute freedom, irrespective of governing bodies and of public officials, to develop along lines laid down by the school staff and more especially by the head master.

Thring wrote to the school trustees as follows in 1875:

The two main facts on which the present school has been built up are very simple and easily stated. They are these two truths: Firstly, the necessity in a true school that every boy, be he clever or stupid, must have proper individual attention paid to him. If he has not, the boy who has not, so far as he is neglected, is not at school. Secondly, that proper machinery for work, proper tools of all sorts, are at least as necessary in making a boy take a given shape, as in making a deal box. Out of these two axioms the present school of Uppingham has grown by a necessary process of reasoning and practical business¹.

As early as 1858 Thring had said, "Machinery, machinery, machinery should be the motto of every good school²." The two "axioms" and the motto were perhaps as much creations of the time as products of their author's unbiased judgment. The prime need of suitably planned and abundant buildings and of ample equipment appealed more cogently than ever before to Thring's contemporaries; and his assertion that a school must be judged by its success with the average boy and the stupid boy betokened a more democratic standpoint than had long been customary where public education was concerned. A strong believer in the rights of the working man to be consulted whenever his work was in question, he was the virtual originator in 1869 of the Head Masters' Conference, the first of those professional societies which have since arisen in great numbers. He also started in 1870 the first Public School "mission," the parent of many others, of university "settlements" and similar organizations which have done so much to enlighten the public conscience and to dispel class ignorance.

¹ Geo. R. Parkin, *Edward Thring*, p. 68.

² Parkin, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

What may be termed the social motive received stimulus and direction when the public began to realize the consequences of the unhealthy conditions under which large numbers of our urban populations live. The partial review of national physique, which was an episode of the Boer War, gave point to this realization, which had been steadily growing in previous years. The doings of the Hooligan family in Lambeth in 1898 awakened many to the problem of the adolescent, since which time it has never been absent from the minds of those who administer public education. Hitherto the most successful solution has been found in the wonderful organization, imitated all over the world, which, under the name of Boy Scouts, was started by Sir Robert Baden-Powell in 1908. Its fourfold object of training character, inculcating the duty of service, cultivating sound health and teaching boys to use their hands skilfully is now shared by the sister organization, the Girl Guides. The Boys' Brigade is an older (1883) body with similar aims which it tries to reach by methods more distinctly military. These are great experiments whose success has taught the general public and professional teachers to take a less restricted view of the aims and methods of education. The "continuation schools" of the future may learn much from them.

Kant, Basedow, E. C. Trapp (1745-1818) and others of the Philanthropinist movement suggested the construction of a theory of education upon an experimental basis, and the Edgeworth family experimented with that purpose in view. But these thinkers of the late eighteenth century left no immediate successors. The notable growth of experimental pedagogy belongs to the twentieth century; beginning in Switzerland, Germany and America, it now has students in well-nigh every nation of Europe and America. The extravagant claims of a few of the experimenters are refuted by the nature of education itself; for the theory of education, like that of morals or of politics, cannot be evolved from purely empirical elements; and the extraordinary difficulty, to say the least, of attaching quantitative value to mental phenomena throws doubt upon those numerical formulae and the statistics compiled by their help which hold so conspicuous a place in experimental studies. Yet the application of the methods of experimental psychology to such subjects as fatigue, attention, memorizing, the rhythm of intellectual activity and to the process of learning

generally has given results which may be made distinctly helpful in the practice of education. It is unfortunate that, for the most part, professional teachers leave these and similar inquiries to the psychologist in the laboratory. Most school-room procedure would be improved if it were reviewed in the light of experiment; some of it would be abandoned as a consequence. In this connexion, it is interesting to note that in 1913 the Board of Education announced its readiness to

make special grants towards defraying expenditure. . . . upon educational experiments directed to the improvement of the education of scholars in public elementary schools, (Code, art. 31.)

Though they have not this express aim, the attempts now being made in this country to apply Signorina Montessori's system to the upbringing of English children may be regarded as experiments of that kind. Put very summarily the system grounds instruction upon the learner's own spontaneous activity, conducted through a training of the muscles and the sense-organs; originally invented for the education of feeble-minded children, the system was further elaborated and employed for the benefit of very young, normal children living in tenement houses in Rome. Its likeness to that of Froebel (1782-1852) is considerable, even to the somewhat superstitious or pedantic use of one definite set of apparatus. All the great educators have suffered from the fact that they leave "disciples," with whom "inspiration withers to a formula." Unless these latest disciples acquire the spirit of the master, the system stands in danger of the sterilization which has not infrequently fallen upon Froebelianism in the English-speaking lands.

The bare enumeration of the "subjects" in a curriculum does not in itself mean much; still, for comparison with other courses stated elsewhere in this book, the following may be useful. It should be noted that, in its choice of studies, the English public elementary school enjoys a degree of freedom not commonly accorded to primary schools outside Great Britain. The Code prescribes a list of subjects, all of which it requires to be studied in a liberal spirit, but does not insist that all should be taken up in every school. Moreover, the Board of Education is prepared to approve a special syllabus in a particular school, where good reason can be shown for a considerable departure from the ordinary course. The studies of the elementary school as laid down in the

Code are the English language, elementary mathematics, drawing, observation lessons, nature study, geography, history, singing, hygiene and physical training, and, for girls, domestic subjects. "Instruction may be given in religious subjects," but no grant is paid in respect of such instruction. Moral instruction is regarded as an important part of every school course.

In the higher classes silent reading should be the rule rather than the exception, and the scheme of instruction should include a wide course of reading under suitable guidance, with the aim of creating a capacity for systematic study and a taste for good literature. (Code, art. 2(1).)

The intimate connexion between elementary education and other aspects of social well-being has been increasingly recognized during recent years. In the future, the recognition is bound to bring about many important changes in the life of the community. Thus, the Code requires every elementary school to make satisfactory provision for the medical inspection of its scholars, a requirement made necessary by the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907, a measure which also permitted Local Education Authorities to provide play centres and vacation schools¹. The Education (Provision of Meals) Act of the preceding year allowed those Authorities to assist in providing meals for school children.

To the Higher Elementary School, a type which the Act of 1918 seems to make superfluous, an even greater freedom in the choice of studies is granted. The curriculum must include drawing and manual work for boys and domestic subjects for girls, together with a progressive course in English, elementary mathematics, history and geography. Beyond specifying these subjects and the duration of the school course as three years, the Code confines itself to stating one general rule to be observed by the school authorities when drawing up a curriculum for the Board's approval.

The curriculum must have for its object the development of the education given in the ordinary public elementary school, and the provision of special instruction bearing on the future occupations of the scholars, whether boys or girls. (Code, art. 38(d).)

The course of studies in the State-aided Secondary Schools officially so named is laid down by regulation. The course itself occupies the four years preceding the age of sixteen and the

¹ This Act also authorized the institution of a Teachers' Registration Council to form and maintain a register of teachers.

studies are English and at least one other language, geography, history, mathematics, science including practical work by the pupils. Organized games, physical exercises, manual instruction and singing must, so far as the conditions admit, form part of the curriculum. In girls' schools, domestic subjects must be taught and taught practically.

Of all the public schools, Eton has been slowest to make changes in its studies; the contrast between the Eton curriculum of to-day and that of sixty years ago is therefore especially significant of what has happened in the interval at all first-grade schools. The staple of the present curriculum is formed by Latin, mathematics, science, French, English, geography and history; German and Greek are optional, although boys who show linguistic capacity include the latter in their studies—a relic of the older tradition. In the senior forms, boys may specialize in classics, or in modern languages, in mathematics, in science or in history; or they may continue the studies which form what is termed above, the staple. In the bigger schools of public school rank, the number of pupils educated on the "modern side" is large and increasing and these boys, of course, receive instruction in science; but there is no general acceptance in these schools of the principle that science is an essential factor of every type of secondary education¹.

The significance of the studies now followed at British universities lies not so much in their number and great variety as in the character of many branches of knowledge which have been admitted during the last twenty years. At the newer universities, the most striking feature of the new order is the study of science as applied to industry; brewing, dyeing, mining, metallurgy are examples. The older universities also teach such applied sciences as agriculture and forestry, while engineering, in one or all of its branches, is at home in almost all British universities, old and new². The introduction of studies of this character and the erection of new faculties, like economics and commerce, mark a return to one of the earliest functions of the mediaeval university. More than that, the new order denotes the decay of the theory that a university should be solely concerned with "pure" knowledge,

¹ See the "Report of the Committee on the position of Natural Science in the educational system of Great Britain," 1918.

² The Engineering Department of King's College, London, dates from 1838.

with knowledge as an end in itself, that a university is a place of "general education," having little or nothing to do with the direct application of knowledge to technical, professional or other mundane purposes. The history of universities outside Great Britain suggests that this particular decay normally occurs in the course of development and that, as secondary education becomes more efficient and is more widely spread, British universities will more and more surrender the office of schoolmaster and correspondingly assume that of maker of knowledge and teacher of the methods by whose employment knowledge grows.

Even a bare enumeration of the studies pursued from the elementary school to the university makes evident the intention and the hope of those who are responsible for public education. But it needs the co-operation of the people at large to turn intentions and hopes into actualities. Careful observers of the English nation during the past generation or two bring against it the charge of intellectual apathy, of indifference to the claims of knowledge. The national readiness to set aside the expert and to put the amateur into positions of the greatest responsibility seem to bear out the charge. The report of a recent case in the Court of King's Bench contains the following:

Counsel asked how the defendant, who had no scientific knowledge of wireless, came to be appointed chairman of the Wireless Research Committee. "That, unfortunately," said witness, "is the principle on which these appointments are made."

Then, with the irony of a Greek chorus, comes from those in Court the response to this sally—"Laughter." So long as the public meets its own ineptitude or frivolity in that mood, it must be recognized that our national education has fallen short of one of its chief aims.

It may be hoped that the next generation, its eyes opened by present experiences, will either forbid such a situation being repeated or, if it is repeated, will meet it with quite another answer. However that may be, the historian of English education in the twentieth century cannot but have a very different tale to tell from that which has here been so imperfectly told.

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